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The
NEGRO

PAST
PRESENT
AND
FUTURE

JOHN AMBROSE PRICE



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**THE NEGRO:
PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE**



THE NEGRO

Past, Present, and
Future

BY

JOHN AMBROSE PRICE

2403

NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON
THE NEALE PUBLISHING COMPANY

1907

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is to place the negro before the American public just as he lives and moves in the South. His racial peculiarities and limitations are related with no malice toward the race, but for the benefit of both races, in order that the white people of the Republic may investigate and see the negro as others see and know him. Mistaken ideas regarding the race are more hurtful to the negro than the white man, and if this book can correct only a few mistakes made in the past, its mission to both races will be fulfilled.

The book of the Past has for its object the vindication of the old South as regards the black man, and is written for the benefit of the young generation of the white race, who know nothing of that day or its memories. The Present reveals the negro as he exists in the South to-day under peculiar conditions and circumstances. The Future relates the possibilities of what may come to the American negro. He who doubts the facts recorded

in this book has but to come South and see. Born and reared on an Arkansas plantation, surrounded by negroes from my earliest infancy, I profess to know something of these people.

JOHN AMBROSE PRICE.

ARKANSAS.

I
THE PAST

THE NEGRO : PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

CHAPTER I

SHILOH

"From the wreck of the past, which hath perished,
Thus much I at least may recall,
It hath taught me that which I most cherished
Deserved to be dearest of all."

It was a beautiful May morning on an Arkansas plantation of the ante-bellum type. A large elm tree cast a cool shade across the long, wide portico of the "big house." The birds were singing their happy songs to the Creator of such a day. In the yard profuse flowers were shedding their fragrance as a compensation to their owner, and to the God of the Universe.

On this fine May morning, when all was gay and happy, an old gentleman sat at the end of the portico living life over, or thinking of the "has beens" of the dead past. It was his habit to sit here in the cool of the morning and read and often muse over the past and present condition of the country. The majority of old

people, as they near the sunset of life, live to a great extent in the past; especially those of the *Old South*. Mr. Higgins lived on the plantation inherited from his father. He was a gentleman of the old school, and a Confederate soldier, who was trying to replenish his broken fortunes that he might live with more comfort in his last days. He did not believe in the decree of fate, and looked upon his condition as being the fruits of man's mistakes.

As he was thus musing over what might have been, Dr. Daniels drew rein at the front gate, with a glad "Good-morning, Mr. Higgins."

"Glad to see you; get down and come in."

"Well, so be it," said Dr. Daniels.

After remarking on the weather, and that Nature seemed to be giving praise to God for His many blessings, the two gentlemen began to converse upon subjects more interesting to them. "I was thinking of the battle of Shiloh, as you rode up," said Mr. Higgins. "In thinking of that battle, where so many of our patriotic soldiers bravely fought and gloriously fell, I often think how an act or blunder of one man can entirely change the course

of events. Shiloh was one of the greatest victories of the Confederacy until death claimed General Albert Sydney Johnston on that Sunday evening. Grant would have been captured before Buell could have arrived if General Beauregard had not blundered, and refused to follow up the great victory. I know not what passed at General Johnston's headquarters between him and General Beauregard, but it was understood that they could not agree about fighting the battle of Shiloh. General Johnston wanted to fight the battle and endeavor to capture Grant, while General Beauregard wanted to move on to Corinth. This he did, after allowing Buell to reinforce Grant, and the battle was lost. General Beauregard was a great general and a brave soldier, but, like all flesh, he made mistakes. One of the greatest mistakes of the flesh is to put the opinion of self above that of all others, regardless of the cost. The battle of Shiloh cost the Confederacy one of its greatest generals, besides the great number of officers and privates, the flower of our Southland.

"I have always been proud of the part our Arkansas boys had in that great bat-

tle. The army was in four corps, under the command of Generals Polk, Bragg, Hardee and Breckinridge, General Beauregard being second in command. General Hardee, commanding the Third Corps, was directed to move from Corinth by the ridge road to a point near the Mickey house, at the junction of the Monterey and Savannah roads, about eight miles from Pittsburg. The Second Corps, commanded by General Bragg, was to assemble at Monterey, and move thence to the Mickey house in two sections, the right wing by the Savannah road, and the left by the Purdy road, and to go into position in rear of Hardee's line. The First Corps, under General Polk, was to assemble near Mickey's, taking the road behind Bragg's corps; Ruggles' division coming from Corinth by the ridge road; Cheatham's division from Bethel and Purdy. The reserve corps under General Breckinridge was to assemble at Monterey from Burnville, follow Bragg's corps to Mickey's, and fall in behind Polk's corps. The cavalry to deploy on the flanks, guarding Lick Creek ford on the right, and the road to Stantonville on the left.

"The order contemplated an attack on the Union camps near Pittsburg Landing at daylight Saturday, April 6th, but on account of bad roads, incessant rains and other causes of delay, the several corps were not in the positions assigned until 4 P. M. of that day. The attack was deferred till daylight Sunday morning, April 7th, the army bivouacking Saturday night in order of battle. Hardee's corps consisted of five regiments of infantry forming two battalions, a battery of artillery and a company of cavalry. Colonel Williams* was commander of the 27th Tennessee, which formed the center of Hardee's line, its right rising on the Corinth road and Pittsburg road in the following order from left to right: 27th Tennessee, 15th Alabama, 44th Tennessee, 9th Arkansas, 8th Arkansas and 55th Tennessee. The Third Mississippi battalion, under Major Hardcastle, was on picket some distance in front of the main line at the corner of Wood's field. He was attacked at daylight by a reconnoitering party sent out by General Prentiss.

* The father of John Sharp Williams, an able and patriotic leader of the minority in the lower house of Congress.

So began the carnage of Shiloh's hard-fought battle.

"When the Yankees formed a hollow square and General Johnston ordered up the artillery, I noticed General Hindman of Arkansas as he rode up, mounted on a splendid black horse. He was dressed in a fine new uniform, and had a physique of the highest order, which made him the Apollo of the Confederacy. Arkansas had a strong hand in that battle, composed of the following: The 1st, afterwards the 15th, and the 3d Confederate Infantry, part of Hindman's legion; with Bragg, the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 13th Arkansas regiments. In fact, Tennessee and Arkansas furnished the greater number of Confederate soldiers in that fearful carnage, and a great number fought their last battle."

The Doctor, who had been silently listening, said: "When I think and talk of the battle of Shiloh, a scene that I witnessed comes before me in all its brilliancy, and I am glad that such a scene passed before me. As you know, we belonged to the command of that Christian soldier, General Patrick Cleburne, and being a surgeon, I saw some very sad sights. One

struck me very forcibly as illustrating the righteousness of our cause. Late in the afternoon of the 6th a young man about eighteen years of age was brought into the tent mortally wounded. I think he was a Tennessean, a handsome boy and as fine a specimen of pure and undefiled young manhood as has been my lot to meet. I examined him and found a terrible wound in the abdomen. Being informed that, by being quiet, he might live several hours, the young man looked up into my face and said: 'It is all right! I would like to see my mother and sisters before I die, but I have no regrets to make. If I had this to do over, I would do the same thing. I am young; life is in front of me, but this is all right. I have done my duty and am willing and ready to die.' The righteousness of the cause passed before me in all its glory, for I believe that when passing through the shadow of death, the right and wrong of life will assert itself, our eyes will be opened and we will see clearly. This youth did not say, 'If I am wrong, I hope to be forgiven,' but said that he had no regrets at having done his duty, and was ready to die.

"When our troops were forced to move on to Corinth, I was left behind with the wounded who could not be moved, and witnessed the parting of that brave boy with his more fortunate comrades. When good-bye was said, he told them to meet him in Heaven. He was very anxious to be moved to Corinth, but his time was too short. As our boys in gray, with tear-dimmed eyes, passed out, I thought, Glorious youths, who in the flush of life's morning willingly pour out your life's blood upon your country's altar, with a martyr's devotion which will live throughout time and eternity.

"That night, after the soul of that brave boy, together with others of his comrades, had returned to the God that gave it, I thanked God for such a life and such blood as coursed the veins of that brave boy, for from such does come the great men and women of the South.

"I then wound my way among the dead and dying of the battlefield, thinking perhaps my services could be rendered to some poor unfortunate, but the time for human aid had passed, for the dead and dying of both sides were there in great numbers. Terrible was Shiloh's bloody

ground that night! It is indelibly written upon my brain and heart. I think and wonder now, as I did then, why was such a war forced upon the people of this nation? Brother fighting and killing brother—and what was it all about? Supremacy—a fight for supremacy, based on the negro, a race that God in the beginning cursed with servitude! I have failed to find the just cause for that war and to see the good results; but in the hereafter angels may roll the stone from its grave away.”

“Do you know, Doctor, when looking back over the flight of years and counting the cost and the causes that led to that great struggle, I refuse to accept the verdict in the same spirit as do some of my comrades, who say: ‘It was Providence who rendered the verdict’! I have never been able to see the works of God in that light. It was a war waged by power and the force of overwhelming numbers against a people without adequate food, raiment or arms, who held their ground for four long years and at last succumbed to starvation and power. God in His wisdom made His laws, the laws of nature, by which we are to live

and die; each of these laws has a limit, and this unequal struggle had reached its limit, and so ended this war of coercion. We accepted the result in good faith, and time is fast healing the wound, but the scar will remain. Slavery is dead, but the real cause of that war is yet alive—the divergent interests of the two sections yet remain—the North will ever strive to dictate to us and hold control of the government.”

CHAPTER II

ABRAHAM LINCOLN INCONSISTENT

“MR. LINCOLN, in a speech made in the House of Representatives on the 12th of January, 1848, said: ‘Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit.’ The people of the South knew this to be an established truth and accepted it at that time as being spoken in sincerity.

“MR. GREELEY in an editorial of his own paper, the *Tribune*, on November 9th, 1860, said: ‘The telegraph informs us

that most of the Cotton States are meditating a withdrawal from the Union because of Lincoln's election. Very well! They have a right to meditate, and meditation is a profitable employment of leisure. We have a chronic invincible disbelief in disunion as a remedy for either Northern or Southern grievances. If the Cotton States consider the value of the Union debatable, we maintain their perfect right to discuss it. Nay, we hold with Jefferson to the inalienable right of communities to alter or abolish a form of government that has become oppressive or injurious, and if the Cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless, and we do not see how one party has a right to prevent what another party has a right to do. We hope never to live in a republic where one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets.'

"What is the reason you offer for the Southern people beginning to talk secession as soon as Mr. Lincoln was elected? From his public utterances before his election, he was antagonistic, narrow, and

self-righteous toward the South. He was elected on a sectional ticket and by a sectional vote; therefore we had no reason to think he was broad enough to be President of the whole country. Christ gave us the great fundamental principle by which to judge all men. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' Mr. Lincoln went in disguise to take his seat as President. While the Southern people felt that his election meant much to them, it was not necessary for him to go in disguise to take his seat; secession was not talked with any idea of harm to him.

"Mr. Lincoln as late as March 4th, 1861, in his inaugural address says: 'I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' He afterward recommended in the House of Representatives, in the session of 1864, the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery.

"The South has been charged with being the aggressor in the war. President Davis in his inaugural address said: 'We protest solemnly in the face of mankind

that we want peace at any sacrifice save that of honor. In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concessions of any kind from the States with which we have been lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone; that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist to the direst extremity. The moment this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot be otherwise than mutually beneficial.'

"In pursuance of this spirit, he appointed a peace commission to go to Washington to negotiate with the government there. Mr. Buchanan's term of office was about to expire; consequently he referred the commission to the incoming administration. I have since been of the opinion that if Buchanan had been the incoming President, matters would have been peacefully settled. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, delayed acting until he had prepared to send a force to reinforce Fort Sumter, but before this force could reach its destination, the fort

was fired upon and taken by the Confederates. Because this was done, it has been charged that the South began the war. Mr. Lincoln's purpose was to reinforce Fort Sumter and destroy the city of Charleston, and enforce his revenue laws, which was a virtual declaration of war. Hallam, in his Constitutional History of England, says: 'The aggressor in war, that is, the one who begins it, is not the first who uses force, but the first who renders force necessary.' We did not want war, and we did not inaugurate it. The North, which had become more populous and powerful than the South, determined to preserve her commercial interests; hence the war.

"We have a resolution passed by Congress and signed by Lincoln as President in July, 1861, after the battle of Manassas, which reads as follows: 'Resolved, That the war is not waged upon our part in any spirit of oppression nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to find and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity,

equality and the rights of the several States unimpaired.'

"The South did not secede to dissolve the Union. Secession was rejected by the border States. Mr. Davis still thought that war could be avoided and matters adjusted. It was only when war was declared and the Constitution set aside that the border States, driven to the last resort, and by Mr. Lincoln's call for troops forced to take one side or the other, to secede, or to invade their sister States, exercised their constitutional right and withdrew from the Union. If the South had been allowed to go in peace, as she deserved, the North would have lost her richest taxing district, and the best patron of her manufacturing and tariff-protected establishments. The South would have opened free-trade with England and Europe, and this would have tended to paralyze, if not pauperize, the great manufacturing industries of the North, especially of New England. Such a loss was more than the North was willing to bear. Mr. Lincoln disclaimed that the war was to free the slaves, but to save the Union. To save the Union for what purpose? The one I have mentioned, namely,

to preserve and augment the commercial interests of the North. It was not the desire of conquest, but to preserve inherent rights that actuated the Confederate States in their appeal to arms. It was not to compel any one unwillingly to accept our civilization or to adopt our Constitution, but to transmit unimpaired to their descendants the rights and franchises which had come from the founders of this Republic. The civilization of the old South was the highest and best civilization the negro will ever know. Servitude is the condition of civilization to the negro race. This fight for supremacy placed a great gulf between the white man and black man of the South which grows wider with time. The negro was happy and contented, and the great majority of the race did not seek freedom; but they were led to believe that freedom held great possibilities for them, such as being wealthy land-owners, just like 'Ole Marster.'

"In September, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation to the effect that on the 1st of January following he intended freeing the slaves in such States or parts of States as might then be found

in hostility to the Government. He made his word good, and on New Year's Day, 1863, slavery practically ended in this country, and with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution slavery was abolished.

"This childish race accepted the freedom thrust upon it, and entered life for weal or woe, with the exception of a minority who remained true to their 'white folks' under all conditions and circumstances; this minority was as true as steel, and chose rather to suffer persecution with their mistresses and children during the war than to enjoy the pleasure of being a Yankee soldier. At no time and in no place in the world's history have master and slave been so lovingly bound together, and never was absolute trust on the part of one met by more loyal devotion on the part of the other than was manifested by the condition of the minority of the negro race during the war; and its memory lingers still in the hearts of many to bind them together. All this in spite of outside influences that sought, and continue to seek, to embitter and alienate. That these influences have not been without effect is sadly true. I am

afraid the work of embittering and alienating is almost finished, for the devoted minority are fast passing to the reward of the faithful servant. I am glad slavery is dead, but I never thought it was killed in the right way."

"Mr. Lincoln was a great man."

"Yes," said Dr. Daniels, "he was the greatest man of one idea that this country has ever produced. Abraham Lincoln was of low birth and narrow environment, born and reared in poverty, obscurity and ignorance. He sought, by diligence and perseverance, to rise to higher and better things. He left this example, worthy of imitation by the youth of the country, that while unyielding in his purpose to carry out his own ideas, regardless of the cost and of the opinions of others, yet he had a stability of character to admire. But stability and narrowness are very different characteristics. His inability to look at both sides of the question was the cause of the trouble. The shield has a white and a black side in a great majority of cases, and the troublesome people are those who will not consent to change places and look upon the opposite side. Lincoln could

only see the black side of slavery, and refused to look upon the bright side. Slavery, conscientiously weighed and investigated, would have shown a very bright side in favor of an institution which was for the uplifting and betterment of the negro race. We were refused a voice in the matter, and were condemned as a sinful, barbarous, criminal class of slaveholders who lived in a tainted atmosphere. Hasty and uncertain condemnation of people often comes to blight life and ruin homes because the side of the seeming criminal is not considered. How much better it would be to consider all the facts before rendering a verdict for or against our fellow-man. Christ said: 'Fear them not therefore; there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid that shall not be known.' The Southern people have been forced to leave their cause to the verdict of time, which proves all things. Time has proved that the real cause for the emancipation of the slaves was the commercial interests of the North.

"Mr. Roosevelt, one of the greatest men of his day, and the greatest President we have had since Buchanan, recognized

the right of secession when he recognized the secession of Panama. I have often wondered if the good people of the North had been allowed time to investigate and understand Southern rights, would the result have been different. They were called to arms to put down the supposed rebellion. The greater number of Northern people thought we were rebelling against the Government; therefore they shouldered their arms to preserve the Government. It was not a rebellion, and we were not rebels. We were fighting in defense of our rights, homes and firesides. We did not fight to perpetuate human slavery, but we fought for our rights according to the laws of God and man. The Southern people considered that they had the God-given right to do as they pleased with their own property. The negroes were our property by right of inheritance, and every man has a right to dispose of his property as he sees fit. Secession was settled at Appomattox, and the South gave up its rights and the responsibility for the negro. But was the negro problem settled—or created? We leave this to the vindication of time."

"Did you think slavery a sin?"

“No indeed; slavery was legal, according to the statute laws of the land; all nations of any consequence admitted the legality of slavery. The Bible indorses slavery, both in the Old and New Testaments. In the beginning Noah, being inspired, said: ‘Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren; and he said blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.’ The Bible calls Ham the father of Canaan. This curse will continue through time. Although the negro is free, he will always occupy a servile position. If slavery was wrong, I believe that when God made the covenant of circumcision with Abraham, He would have told Abraham that it was wrong; but instead God said to him: ‘He that is born in thy house and he that is bought with thy money must needs be circumcised, and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.’ And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron: ‘This is the ordinance of the passover; there shall no strangers eat thereof; but every manservant that is bought with money, when

thou hast circumsized him, then shall he eat thereof! A foreigner and a hired servant shall not eat thereof.' Paul says: 'Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ, knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth the same shall receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.' Paul further says: 'All scripture is given by inspiration of God.' Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were slaveholders, who walked and talked with God. Don't understand me to say that the slaveholders of the South were as good men as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; no indeed; I mean to say if slavery was a sin, then these patriarchs were guilty of the same sin. Christ said: 'Ye shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God.'"

CHAPTER III

THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN

“THE South for forty years has been forced to rest under the accusation of instigating John Wilkes Booth’s assassination of Mr. Lincoln. We, of course, have never thought that we were better than the Saviour of the world, who was accused of being the ‘Prince of Devils’; realizing this fact, we have pursued the path leading into a more perfect day. When General Lee, worn out by hardships and suffering, surrendered the ragged soldiers of the South at Appomattox, they went down with an honorable defeat—had lost all save honor. After receiving their parole they returned to their ruined homes with the idea to do the best they could in an honorable way. As the glorious sun of the old South set on the wreck and ruin of cherished hopes, the Confederate soldier set his face toward the stars of the new South, and through the breakers of war he brought his honor and integrity.

In speaking of what the Confederate soldier had to face after his surrender, the great soul and honest heart of Corporal Tanner of the G. A. R. gave utterance to the following words: 'From the hour when my thoughts were first turned to the contemplation of this situation, I have never had any hesitancy in declaring that the Confederate soldier—when he found himself thus confronted, as with pride and defiance, he raised his head in determination against adverse fate, and swore by the God above him that while he was down for the moment he would not stay down, and then bravely set to work to rebuild his broken fortunes and to make the fair lands of the South bloom and blossom again under banner of peace—exhibited a type of moral courage that is as high above mere physical courage as the stars in their brilliancy are above the darkened fields of earth.'

"The Southern people had not reached so high a standard of a Christian life that they could love their enemies, but they were of the type who seek no foul means by which to destroy them. We did not love Mr. Lincoln any more than the people of the North loved Mr. Davis. Mr. Lin-

near New York. In one of his daring exploits in 1864 Captain Beall was captured and sentenced by court-martial to be hanged. Many were the efforts made to save the condemned man, as he was a true and gallant son of the South. Among the many distinguished persons whose influence was exerted in his behalf was Governor Andrews of Massachusetts. A copy of a letter written to President Lincoln on February 24th, 1865, and signed by W. H. Browning, a member of the National House of Representatives, and ninety other members of Congress, including Speaker Colfax, is in the hands of the local collector. In part this letter reads: "This is brief time for precaution in so solemn and appalling an event. The friends of Captain Beall desire to appeal to your clemency for commutation of the sentence from death to imprisonment, that they may have the opportunity to prepare and present for your consideration the reasons which they hope may induce a commutation of the sentence. They now beseech you to grant the unhappy man such respite as you may deem reasonable under the circumstances. As a short respite is all that is asked just now, and as

that in no event can do any harm, we forbear at present to make any other suggestion." The letters were delivered and the appeals were made to no avail, for Beall was hanged on the day named.'

"Whether or not Beall was guilty of the charges upon which he was condemned, may be judged from a letter written by him shortly before his death, to a personal friend, James A. L. McClure, of Baltimore. It is as follows: 'Some of the evidence is true, some of it is false. I am not a spy nor a guerrilla. The charges have not been proved. The execution of the sentence will be murder.' It was said by Dr. George N. Foote, a personal friend of both Beall and Booth, that when Booth found that there was no possible chance for his friend, he went to Washington and implored President Lincoln and Secretary Seward to grant the prisoner a short respite. Foote says Lincoln and Seward agreed to do so, and Booth hastened to telegraph the joyful news to Beall's mother. The next morning at 10 o'clock the prison commandant received orders to execute Beall, and the order was carried out within thirty yards of the cell in which Foote was confined at Fort

Columbus. When Booth found out what he considered the perfidy of Lincoln and Seward, he is said to have sworn revenge. The plan to assassinate the President was known to only one man outside the plot, who, when he found that Booth could not be dissuaded from his purpose, fled from the city before the appalling tragedy occurred.

“This story illustrates the hatred Lincoln had for everybody and everything Southern. It also shows his narrow nature and how little love he had for his fellow-man; it shows to the people of the South the magnanimous souls of Governor Andrews and others who exerted their influence in behalf of this gallant son of the South.”

CHAPTER IV

SLAVERY

AFTER making his regular round of visits to the sick, Dr. Daniels stopped on his way home to talk with his friend, Mr. Higgins. We find them seated, as was their habit, on the front gallery, talking of slavery.

"The negro, as a savage, was thrust upon the Southern colonies, in some cases in face of their protests, to satisfy the greed of the English and New England slave-traders. The enslavement of a savage people is of necessity attended by rigorous treatment on the part of the master, and of a revengeful hate on the part of the slave; and that it should have developed into its modified form in 1860 speaks volumes for the good that was in both races. It was modified to the degree of absolute trust and attachment on the part of the master, and was met by loyal devotion on the part of the slave, as was proved by the faithful slaves during the war."

"Do you think that it was wrong for the slave-traders to take those savages from their native country and sell them as slaves?" said Mr. Higgins.

"No, in one sense I do not, because this savage race of cannibals would have remained cannibal for all time to come. God made this most inferior race for servants and cursed them with servitude for our benefit and theirs. The law of God and of nature required that the earth should be subdued and replenished; and God said Canaan should be the servant of his brethren. He could not have been a servant had he remained in Africa as a savage. I believe the slave-traders were, from the love of greed, made willing instruments in the hand of God to bring these savages to the people of the South, but their motive being greed, it was born of the devil, and this dark motive was the hold the devil had on the institution of slavery throughout its existence; which is often true of the ways and means of life. The South did not seek or desire the responsibility and the onerous burden of civilizing and Christianizing these degraded savages, but God in His mysterious providence brought it about. Of

course, the institution of slavery was liable to great abuse; to say otherwise would be to say that it was not human. The whole of life is a system of evils and compensations. The Africans brought to us had been, generally speaking, slaves in their own country, and only underwent a change of masters. American civilization upon revealed truth and nature's laws puts the negro in his natural position—that of subordination to the white man. Republican government has utterly failed with him, because of the error of supposing that all men of all races are naturally equal to one another."

"No," said Mr. Higgins, "the negro was included in American independence only as a slave. Our forefathers contended for their own equality with Englishmen; this not being granted them, they declared their independence. But scarcely had their swords won that independence when the governing classes of Great Britain began to teach the rising generation through the medium of books, schools, and colleges that the democratic doctrine which declared all white men equal included the negro; thus making the learned world believe that democracy

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and negro slavery were incompatible—that there could be no such thing as a democracy, or a government where the people rule, so long as black people were held in slavery. The schools not only taught the doctrine that negro slavery was anti-republican, but that it was a moral, social, and political evil, and soon it was denounced from the pulpit as a sin against God.

“Under the influence of such an education, imported from Europe, the American people, even in the South, began to regard negro slavery as an evil, not from anything they saw, but from what they had been taught. After receiving this false teaching and casting aside the Bible and the Constitution, the North became the blind leaders of the blind in one of the most destructive and bloody wars of the age.

“As I have already said, slavery was subject to abuse. There were a few mean masters and overseers. Occasionally on a plantation a great distance from the master the overseer would treat the negroes badly through hatred for the negro and envy of the master. It has always been a characteristic of the negro race not to like

the people he calls 'po' white folks,' and as a general thing the overseer was of this class; therefore there was a certain natural hatred existing between them. Generally speaking, the overseer was forced to treat the negroes right in order to retain his position; and we had a great many high-toned and good men as overseers, whom the negroes liked and respected. The mean master belonged to that class of human beings who will treat his own family—his own flesh and blood—in a brutal manner, and even beat and unmercifully use the dumb brute he chances to own. This class of human beings has existed since time immemorial and will continue to exist. But thank God we had very few slave-holders of this class.

"The divine beatitudes of the institution of slavery were the peace, harmony, affection, good-will, happiness, and contentment that existed between master and slave. The negro in slavery was a happy and harmless individual. He had food and raiment, and was therefore content. Why should he not be happy? He had no cares or responsibilities, he was nursed in sickness by his white folks, was attended by the family physician, was provided for

and cared for from the cradle to the grave."

"Every Southern plantation held three classes of the negro race," said the Doctor. "The first class comprised those who followed their masters through the carnage of the war; very often carried their lifeless bodies from the battle-field and returned to a saddened home; sometimes with a last message from 'marster to missus.' Those who remained with their master's family and protected and took care of them as best they could; watched at night and often would steal up to the big house to warn the 'missus' and children that the Yankees were coming. These negro slaves could have butchered the white women and children and then gone over to the enemy for the freedom and protection so abundantly promised to those who would desert their master's family. This class was as true as steel, for they loved us and we loved them, but some of them were forced to leave their homes and go with the enemy.

"The second class included the negroes who were lazy and did not want to work; they did not hate us, neither did they love us. While they did not relish the idea of

work, they were harmless, and obeyed and respected their masters on the same principle that some children are not inclined to do just as their parents desire, although they obey and respect them. To this class belonged those of the negro race who would rather starve than work. They welcomed Saturday evening's vacation with all the joy of a school boy. With the exception of work, they had nothing to disturb their happiness or peace of mind. This class accepted freedom as being the end of all work. After learning that freedom was more moonshine than light of day, he returned to his old habit of work.

"The minority of the four million slaves made up the third class. This class was more brute than human. It seemed impossible to remove its members from the savage ways and means of the jungle. They accepted the white man's civilization only through fear and force of habit; they were mean, restless, and dissatisfied, just as the lion is restless and dissatisfied in the confinement of the cage. This class of human brute was subdued only through fear, just as the lion is made to perform in the show through fear. This class hated

the white man with all the hatred of a brute nature, and was capable of committing the blackest crimes whenever the opportunity arose. But the majority of this, as well as of the second class, ran away and joined the Yankee army, which was a providential act for the women and children of the South."

"Yes," said Mr. Higgins, "we had one crime committed by that class in our neighborhood during the war. It was the killing of Mrs. Benson and her three children. A negro called at the Benson home and told Mrs. Benson that her husband, who was then in the army, was at the back of her field and wanted to see her and the children. Mrs. Benson gladly accepted the message, took her baby in her arms, the negro taking the next little girl, while the third walked, and started to see the husband and father, as they supposed. On arriving at the designated place there awaited, not her husband, but two more negro brutes, and the three murdered Mrs. Benson and her three little children. Mr. Benson was not a slave-holder, and it could not have been for hatred of the slave-holders. Of course those negroes paid the penalty of their crime, but this did not

bring back the wife and children to the absent Confederate soldier. From this class came the assaults on white women after the war, for we had no assaults prior to that time. This class seemed to increase wonderfully as the years rolled by.

"Yes, this is one of the blots on the negro's freedom. The ante-bellum negro stands to-day a living monument of superior quality to the institution of slavery. He was trained up in the occupation to which he was adapted, as a farmer, carpenter, brick-mason, or in some other of the useful vocations of life. The slaves built some very fine old Southern mansions, and a few yet stand as a monument to their skill and training. Solomon said: 'Train up a child in the way it should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' The slave departed from his teaching for a time during reconstruction days, but soon returned to work for his master and his living.

"I often ask myself this question: 'Do not my brethren of the North, who fought to free the negro and place him in a higher state of existence, think the plan of salvation was a little far-fetched?' If not, why not? Of course their fight for supremacy

was a success. Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, says: 'We, for instance, after one fierce, final struggle for supremacy, pacified the Confederacy in twenty years.' We recognize this as a fact, but has the negro's rights of man and his much-needed chance materialized, or has his elevation been absorbed into a permanent condition? His elevation seems to have been a demonstration of the great fundamental principle of nature that water will seek its level. Emancipation of the slaves lifted a very great responsibility from the people of the South, for we were just as much responsible to God for our slaves as we are for the raising of our children. The Southern people would not, for millions and millions of dollars, accept this responsibility again. The high standard of religious training the negro received as a slave will never come to him again. The mistress on Sunday taught the little darkies the catechism, and read the Bible to the older negroes. The white people had their churches arranged so that the colored people heard the message of life from the same preacher and in the same churches as their masters. Besides this, they had services of their own, at which the white pastor

or an approved colored brother preached. The sacraments were duly administered to them, and for them class meetings and prayer meetings were established. We had all Christian denominations represented among the slaves, but the Baptists and Methodists seemed to be the most popular. I will talk about the Methodists, for the reason that I am a Methodist, and am better acquainted with what the Methodists did for the slaves.

“The M. E. Church South never had in its richest churches, or sent to any mission field, men of a higher order of intellect, culture, or consecration than were appointed by it as superintendents and pastors of its missions among the Southern slaves. Bishops Andrews, Capers, Early, McTyeire, and Fitzgerald, Drs. McFerrin, Evans, and many others, though called in later years to fill the highest offices in the church, accounted among their richest experiences and happiest work that which came to them while missionaries to the negroes. That which was true of the M. E. Church South was also true of the other denominations. In 1866 there were reported 78,742 of the colored members of the M. E. Church South that had mem-

bered 207,776. The two African churches hitherto operating mainly in the North appropriated a large share of them. Another portion went to Northern Methodism. The remnants that claved to the Southern Church, which administered to them in slavery, were set off into circuits and annual conferences, and at their request were constituted an independent body under the name chosen by themselves, 'The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America.' The discipline of the parent body was adopted without material alteration, and two bishops of their own election were ordained in 1870—W. H. Miles and R. H. Vanderhost. The General Conference which authorized this proceeding also ordered that all church property that had been acquired, held, and used for Methodists in the past be turned over to them by Quarterly Conferences and trustees. So you see the war placed a great gulf between the white and black man of the South, even in religion, and although we have extended to the colored church much help financially, morally, and religiously, the gulf is between us, under all conditions and circumstances; a sad fact, but nevertheless a fact."

CHAPTER V

THE EQUALITY OF MAN

THE Great Architect of the Universe made man out of the dust of the earth, and said, "To dust thou shalt return"; but after the fall of Adam, God made man both superior and inferior in mind, soul, and body; of different nature, complexion, and construction, and of varying capacity for the different stations in life. If God had made man of one mind, one nature, and one capacity, the journey of life would be very monotonous. Instead, according to His wisdom, He gave us different talents, and expects us to use our endowments according to the station in which He has placed us. We have the ethics of the Bible and the ethics of nature to follow—these ethics of the Bible are demonstrated by the ethics of nature. Thomas Jefferson was a very brainy man, and a man of whom the South was proud, but he seems to have held some wrong theories, and one of these was the idea that all

men are born free and equal. I have read that Jefferson was an infidel, and he must have been, for he never bowed to the authority of the Bible. How can any person who believes in the Bible admit for a moment that God intended to teach by it that all men are born free and equal. We have a striking illustration of this in Isaac's two sons, Jacob and Esau. They were twins, and the Lord told Rebekah that these twins should beget two nations, and the older, which was Esau, should serve the younger, who was called Jacob; Esau was the inferior of the twin brothers. Another instance is the two sons of Abraham, Isaac and Ishmael. Did God look upon Ishmael as being Isaac's equal? No; God told Abraham that Isaac was his son indeed, and that in Isaac his seed should be called, and "Also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him." We can, by casting aside the Bible and nature, say that all men are equal, and there is no such thing as caste, but if the Northern people who profess this belief will come South and live on the plantations among

the negroes for a while, I think a change will come over the spirit of their dreams, and they will find that the negro is the most inferior type of the human race.

The negro is anatomically constructed more like the brute animal than are the Caucasian and Mongolian races; not that the negro is a brute, or half brute and half man, but he is a genuine human being, anatomically constructed about the head and face more like the monkey tribes and the lower orders of animals than any other species of the genus man. The blackness of the prognathous race, known in the world's history as Canaanites, Cushites, Ethiopians, black men or negroes, is not confined to the skin, but pervades in a greater or less degree the whole inward man down to the bones themselves, giving the flesh and the blood, the membranes, and every part and organ of the body, except the bones, a darker hue than in the white race.

The ethnology of the negro race not only proves that subordination to the white race is its normal condition, but it goes further and proves that social and political equality is abnormal to it, whether educated or not. Neither negroes nor mulat-

toes know how to use power when it is given them; they always use it capriciously and tyrannically. Another proof of subordination to the white race is, wherever the negro has reached a state of civilization he dwells with the white man and is dominated by him. The negro's mental organization is too imperfect to enable him to extricate himself from barbarism. We find the black race on all the continents and on many of the islands of the sea, whither they have migrated or been carried as slaves by the stronger races, for since time immemorial they have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for their more favored brethren.

Take the negro away from the white man and place him in a country by himself, and he will soon forget what he has learned, and will relapse into barbarism. Liberia, as is well known, was colonized some years ago by American negroes, who established a republic. A great number of negroes went there expecting to find a veritable El Dorado. A majority are on the verge of starvation. They were dumped into Liberia by labor agents, and then left to hustle for themselves as best they could. Unacquainted with the sea-

sons of the new country, and with its natural crops, they became absolutely helpless; with the passing years their condition has improved in no wise, and the negro republic is the disgrace of the west African coast. The one thought of the negroes is to get back to the United States, and many of them are pining away from intense homesickness, while others have lapsed into barbarism.

Subordination of the inferior to the superior is a normal and not a forced condition. The negro is a dependent, and will ever remain so; the obedience of the negro to the Caucasian is spontaneous, because it is normal for a weaker will to yield in obedience to the stronger. The ordinance which subjects the negro to the empire of the white man's will was plainly written on the heavens during our Civil War by our faithful slaves. The better element of the race in this country do not want social equality; they think that white men who will associate with them on terms of equality are "small potatoes and not many in a hill." Generally speaking, those who teach and practice social equality are the illegitimate mulatto idealists of the most erroneous type. To this class belongs the

trouble of the future. We of the South like the real article of any thing; therefore we prefer the real negro, who knows he is a negro, and does not want to be a white man. The negro's love of country is strongest in the place where he can get the most to eat and wear with the least work possible.

Another trait is the lack of domestic happiness and affection, and insensibility to the ties of kindred. Marriage is celebrated with very little concern. The negro thinks no more of discarding his wife and taking another than he does of casting aside one suit of clothes for another. As a race they pay very little attention to the marriage relation. The negro excels in the invention of falsehood—this is one of his strongest faculties; and so far as improvising falsehood goes, the African race is without a rival. The negro's freedom does not exist in the nature of things, but only in the imagination of the political theorist, and in the imagination of the white nigger who has risen to such an intellectual height as to think he is the white man's equal. What do you consider the ethological factors conspicuous in the disability of negro citizenship? Dishonesty,

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thriftlessness, immorality of the lowest order, with no capacity for real citizenship. The Bible has, and will ever prove itself; it is the book of laws, promises, and commandments, on which rests the civilization and rights of the human race.

CHAPTER VI

NEGRO LIFE IN DIXIE BEFORE THE WAR

"As we lift the curtain of the past and look on the glory of the old South and the life that was, we realize that life in Dixie before the war was real life," said Dr. Daniels.

"To be sure," interrupted Mr. Higgins, "you don't seem to think we are living now!"

"Oh, yes; we are living, but our lives are a sort of drag-along business compared with the life of other days; it may be that we had the vim starved out of us during the war. Yes, we are creatures of circumstance to a certain extent, and I think we are just now getting 'in the circumstances' of the new South with its new conditions. As early impressions are the most lasting, I love the old South of the days of my youth, the land of peace and plenty, of blue blood, aristocracy, and happy niggers. There were very few poor people in the old régime;

those who were considered poor folks are now called 'good livers.' The negroes called the people who did not own negroes 'po' white folks.' Yes, indeed, the old South was as near an earthly paradise as ever falls to the lot of man, and will ever remain to us a 'paradise lost,' and, as Uncle Henry says, 'We are glad that we have ben dar.' You remember Uncle Henry, the old darky whom Mrs. Newton employed to drum at the trains and bring boarders to her hotel. Mrs. Newton, a lady of the old school, who was left a widow in poverty, established a boarding house in the city and engaged Uncle Henry to assist her in her efforts to make a living, and well did he assist, with his judgment and good common sense. Mrs. Newton had good rooms, and better rooms for the boarders, and she told Uncle Henry that she wanted to put the best people in the best rooms. When the old darky would come with the boarders, Mrs. Newton would call him aside and ask 'who was who.' 'Well, Mrs. Newton,' said Uncle Henry, 'dat man dats got on de ole clo's, he ain't dres' up, but he ben dar, and dat en dats dres' up fine, he got on de clo's, but he ain't

neber ben dar.' This was a true illustration of the times just after the war. It seems that our slaves had more sense than the young generation of negroes."

"Yes, but that might be because we owned them and thought they were better and had more sense."

"No, I know that our slaves were better, happier, and more contented. The slave had to work, but his work was conducted upon the right plan—he was not over-worked, but was required to do a reasonable amount, without injury to himself physically, or to his master financially. The ethnical elements assimilating the negro to the mule were of vast importance to the negro, because they guarantee to that race ample protection against the abuse of arbitrary power. We had shoemakers, mechanics, blacksmiths, farmers, barbers, and butlers, each happy in his occupation. The old negro men made baskets, chair bottoms, rugs, and the like to sell, as well as to supply the plantation; the old darkies received the proceeds of the articles sold. The field-hands who cultivated the fleecy staple of their masters' estates were very important factors in plantation life. Their meals were pre-

pared and ready for them on coming from work; and they could eat and rest until called to the field again. The negro is fond of eating and is a very hearty eater when he can get food; this desire was gratified, and down amid the cotton and the corn his happy song floated on the air and gave echo of a happy and contented life.

“I sing in de day time,
I dance in de night,
Fix dat Georgia hoe cake—
Roast dem taters right.”

“After his day’s work was done he returned to the quarters, his home, to ‘pat juber’ and dance to the music of ‘de ole banjo’ until a stated hour for retiring, which was very necessary, for the negro will sit by the fire and doze, or will carouse all night if allowed. The house servants considered themselves the ‘quality’ negroes, and I suppose they were, for we had three or four negroes to do the work done by one white woman now.

“The clothing for the slaves was apportioned to each to suit the season, and was made by colored seamstresses under the superintendency of the mistress. The

life of the mistress was not one of idleness; she had great care and responsibility resting upon her, and well did she attend to her duties, for the slaves looked upon her as an angel of mercy and goodness, who ministered to them in sickness and in health, and when death hovered near she was there to do all in her power for them. The death of a slave was a great financial loss, as well as a rending of the ties of affection. They were our negroes, and we were attached to them. The slave was as dependent upon his master as a ten-year-old child upon its parents. Occasionally the negro had a mean master as some children have mean parents; but the slave-holders, as a whole, treated the negroes well and were attached to them, for it is very natural for us to love the person or thing belonging to us. We even love the animals that are ours, and it is reasonable to suppose we would love the human being who was committed to our care, a family inheritance from generation to generation.

“Negro child-life was one long holiday, not a holiday from labor, for they did not have to work until well matured. Theirs was a holiday with no thought of

work to-morrow. The negro child was born a slave, but his life contained no slavery compared with that of the white child of to-day. Free from want and privation, theirs was child-life without a shadow. The little negroes were nursed and cared for by the old 'black mammy.' The little fellows, black and white, often feasted together, with no thought of social equality, for such a thing was an unknown quantity at that time. The children's feast or enjoyment was presided over by black mammy, and no queen ever enjoyed her reign more than did the stately old negress who was next to 'de white folks up in de big house.' The children were taught to obey and respect 'black mammy,' whom they loved with the tender affection of a pure child nature. Hog-killing time was a feast enjoyed by the happiest white children and niggers the world has ever known.

"Saturday evening was a holiday for every slave on the plantation. They could fish, hunt, dance, play, and make merry, free from care. Down in the quarters about sunset you could hear the tuning of the banjo and fiddle, which was a signal of ready for the dance.

"Ham in every smoke house
Sweet enough fer grace,
Yander come de fiddler;
Ladies, take yo' place!"

"I fancy I can hear the merry laughter mingled with the strains of the banjo and the fiddle, as their flying feet went around in the break-down dance. I have often gone to the quarters and watched the negroes dance. Happy days, gone but not forgotten.

"Christmas meant a great feast and one week of holidays, with something as a present, and a dram for every old negro on the place. The darkies were marched up to the 'big house' to receive their presents from 'missus,' and a dram from 'marster.' Their chief delight was to catch 'de white folks' Christmas gifts,' which meant something extra for them. Christmas was a time of rejoicing, and it was truly a time of 'peace on earth, and good-will toward men!' Down on the old plantation were ripening corn and whitening fields of cotton, to be turned into food and raiment for those who, free from care, never knowing want, toiled, it is true, but also reaped. And so down in the quarters their songs were happy

songs; and such was life on the plantation before the war.

"When reviewing the life that is past, I often wonder if it is possible that those happy niggers who loved and trusted us could be the fathers and mothers of a generation who hate us, yet still dependent upon us and will ever remain dependent? Yes, this race of happy, harmless, and contented 'niggers,' with their rich white folks, has passed like the bird songsters of spring that give place to the winter season. The negro of to-day is a restless, dissatisfied wanderer on the face of the earth, carrying with him the idea of a great future when he will rule this country, or will at least become the white man's equal, a delusion which comes to him through education. The sad part of this delusion is that the better element of the race must suffer the consequence of the so-called educated leadership.

"I believe the all-wise God will take a hand in this condition and settle this question to the good of all concerned. Around the life in Dixie before the war cling the sweetest memories, and when we come to cross over the river and 'enter in through the gate into the city,' if I should not meet

some of the old darkies in the City of God, I shall feel disappointed."

"Ca' so dese am mighty fine—dese days ob freedom,

But somehow folks don't seem de same toer me;
An' de white folks an' de niggers—dey don'
seem ter

Git along ez well ez when we wuz'nt free;
An' dey tell me dat my pore ole mine's er ailin',
But it won't be long tell dey lay me down
An' my spirit it will be shakin' han's wid Massa's,
Nebber thinkin' ob de cole, cole ground!"

CHAPTER VII

RESTRAINTS OF SLAVERY

"SLAVERY set a limit, not to any right conferred on the negro by the Author of nature, but upon the evil deeds which he is capable of committing as a freeman," said Dr. Daniels.

"Yes, the God of all men constructed the negroes on a very different plan from the whites, and their distinguishing characteristics are such as peculiarly mark them for the position they occupy among us. God gave to the whites qualities denied the black race—the one a thinking and reflective being and the other a creature of feeling and imitation, almost void of reflective faculties. In slavery we only had the bright side of the negro's nature to deal with. As a race, they live in the present and come nearer obeying the injunction of Christ, 'Take therefore no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself,' than any other race of people.

They certainly take no thought for the morrow, have no ambition. The real negro is a stationary race, which shows that God made them a servile people; he cannot be independent anywhere on the face of the earth.

"They are a lazy, shiftless race of people, who thought their work ended with slavery, that liberty to them would know no law except its own will, and who seek no end except the gratification of a passion of the grossest sort. Such was the idea of these people, who were children in intellect, with a nature of the lowest order held in check by slavery. The master and slave were bound together by the laws of God and man; the bonds which bound them were affection and value for that which was his own, on the part of the master; on the part of the slave it was affection, devotion, and loyalty to their protector and benefactor, who supplied their needs and wants. To these bonds were added the restraints of mutual interest.

"The master ruled the negro with his superior will power rather than with the whip. Of course, it was necessary to whip some of the negroes, just as it is necessary

to whip some children. Solomon says: 'The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame.' He further says: 'A servant will not be corrected by words: for though he understands he will not answer.' If a negro had to be corrected with a whipping, he never held malice toward his master for whipping him any more than our children hold malice toward us for whipping them. The power of a stronger will over a weaker one, or the power of one living creature to act upon and influence another, is an ordinance of nature.

"The same ordinance which keeps the spheres in their orbits and holds the satellites in subordination to the planets, is the ordinance that subjects the negro race to the empire of the white man's will. This was the general rule by which the slaves were controlled.

"I make no effort to correct any libel published about the inhuman treatment of slaves in the South: the treatment of the slave is recorded on high, where no selfish motive can reverse the verdict, and we leave the libel writer to answer to what God says concerning: 'Whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.' The will of man is

but a spark of the Infinite will, and its power is only circumscribed by his knowledge. A man possessing a knowledge of the negro character can govern a hundred, a thousand, of the negro race by his will alone easier than one ignorant of that character can govern a single individual of that race by the whip or club. We have this illustrated by the number of negroes who suffered and even died to aid the Confederacy and its people. One very striking illustration of this was seen in Dahlgren's intended raid on Richmond. Dahlgren purposed to cross the river at either Jude's Ferry on the Morson place or at Mannikin Ferry, three miles below, and to approach Richmond by the south bank of the James. Reaching Belle Isle, he purposed to liberate the twelve thousand Federal prisoners encamped thereon, who, reinforced with his own regiment, could easily sack the Confederate capital and hang Jeff Davis and his cabinet. Dahlgren was ignorant of the depth of water at the ferry crossings, and therefore paid a burly black man from the Sanford place, who professed a knowledge of the ferry, \$10.00 to pilot the troop of cavalry safely across to the south bank. They

acy, stand as evidence of the treatment they received in slavery. Our wives and children were perfectly safe under the care and protection of the faithful slaves. Time after time did the old 'black mammy' hurry the children to a safe hiding place, thinking that the Yankees would kill them, while the other slaves would beg the Yankees not to burn the property of their master and mistress. The Yankees were fighting to free the negroes, while thousands of the slaves were doing all in their power to keep from being freed. The restraint of slavery was for the betterment and uplifting of the race. Theft in a freeman is a crime; in a slave it was a vice. Courts of justice had no more to do with a slave's stealing than with his lying; that was a matter for the domestic forum.

"The slaves' offenses were confined to petty depredations, principally for the gratification of their desire to take something, and were chiefly confined to the property of their owner which was most exposed to them. An atrocious crime committed by a slave was rarely heard of. They were restrained by the constant, vigilant, and interested superintendence which

was exercised over them from the commission of offenses of great magnitude—even if they were so disposed. We had no negroes in the penitentiary, on the chain gang, at the county farm, or in the poor houses of the South at that time.

“Though the negro is naturally lazy and too improvident to work for himself, he would often labor for his master with a right good will, and with a loyal devotion to his interest, because he felt that in his master he had a protector and friend. They were made lazy by the depravity of human nature, in connection and co-operation with long centuries of brutal ignorance and the savage modes of life in Africa, which justifies the servitude in which the Providence of God placed the negro when a slave.

“Speaking of the slave as a thief brings to mind an experience of my father with one of his favorite slaves. This old darky would steal corn. He lived nearest the ‘white folks’ house, because his wife and wife’s mother were house servants. When harvest time came father had a crib built almost against Uncle Lon’s house. A neighbor came along while the negroes were building the crib

and asked my father why he was building a crib there. Father said: 'Well, I don't want Lon to have to walk so far when he wants to take a little corn, and I am having a crib built for his convenience.'

"Yes, even in slavery, when the negro had the necessities of life he would take things, and you may as well undertake to make water run up hill as to undertake to break the negro from stealing. As a slave, if he took anything from a neighbor, his master made it good, but now-a-days he goes to the penitentiary or county farm to work for his crime. He works under the lash of the guard who cares little whether he lives or dies. The moral restraint placed upon the slave was for the betterment of the race physically and spiritually and for the benefit of the master financially. He was restrained from becoming a debauchee, a walking carcass of disease, crap shooter, night walker, idler, and criminal; in general, he was not allowed to follow the dictates of his low brute nature. Of course, we know that the negro has always been a race of bastards, but I believe there were fewer bastards among them in slavery. I know there were fewer mulattoes on the planta-

tions than in the cities. The cause of this was that the majority of the free negroes migrated to the city and a good many slaves were hired to the people who lived in the city. The negro woman, as a slave, claimed to have been forced into a life of shame, but time has shown the absurdity and falsehood of such a statement. Mulattoes have greatly increased in number as the years go by with the negro a freeman. The mulatto child is the offspring of a low, coarse white man and a negro woman, and is the cloud which hangs over the good of both races.

“The negro in slavery was no more like the prisoner of Sing Sing than is our child, whom we try to raise up in the way he should go. The restraints of slavery were just as necessary to the future welfare of the negro as the restraints of childhood are necessary to the future welfare of the child, and the record of the ante-bellum negro stands to-day as evidence of this fact. His absence is conspicuous in the chain gangs, penitentiaries, and county farms. The rapid increase of the negro population in slavery and the old age to which the ante-bellum negro lived, tells how he was treated as a slave.

If slavery, with its restraints, was brutal and barbarous, what are the restraints placed upon the negro race to-day north, south, east and west? Answer: chain gang with chain and iron ball attached to ankles, penitentiary and county farms with lash of obedience, and the mob of lynchers and murderers; all these are the restraints of freedom. Like begets like, and the cause leads to the effect. The supply must meet the demand. Has time proved that the abolition of slavery lifted the negro up out of his supposed degradation, or was he lifted up politically and degraded morally? The glory of our life comes not from what we do or what we know, but dwells forever more in what we are."

CHAPTER VIII

REFLEX LIGHTS FROM THE PAST

"Not from the grand old masters,
Not from the bards sublime,
Whose distant footsteps echo
Down the corridors of Time."

THE Confederate soldier and his niggers, after spending together the better part of life in a day of peace, happiness, and good will, shall "fold their tents like the Arabs, and as silently steal away."

The two old gentlemen were engaged in pleasant conversation when Mrs. Higgins entered, saying to Mr. Higgins: "I am sorry to interrupt your conversation, but Aunt Frances is on the kitchen porch wishing to see you."

"What is the matter now?"

"You know Aunt Frances cannot agree with the negroes of the new régime, and I suppose from what she says they have been disputing over some trivial matter. I asked her what the trouble was, and she said Jerry's Liza had been 'buke-in' her

tion ran away to the Yankees. Yes indeed, old and young went to the enemy; great numbers were killed as Federal soldiers, and a great many died in contraband camps for want of attention. Returning to Aunt Frances, I could not keep house without her. She was reared a house-servant and understands the work; it makes no difference who cooks, Aunt Frances is foreman of the kitchen. She comes to the house every morning to attend to her duties before going to the field. My children love and respect her; the younger ones call her 'mammy.' I was amused not long ago. I sent the children with a message to Aunt Frances late in the evening. When they came back they said: 'Mamma, what do you think? Mammy was in bed and it is not yet sun-down. We laughed at her for going to bed so early, and she said: "Yes, I goes to bed early and I gets up early. I don't prog round in de night like de res' of dese proggin' niggers. Dat's de trouble wid dese young niggers, dey progs all night and dey ain't no 'count in de day time. Tell your Ma I'll be dair.'" She was there on time.'

"Mrs. Higgins, you are right in priz-

ing this old darky so highly," said Dr. Daniels, "for she is a type that is passing away faster than we yet realize, and I believe in giving honor to whom honor is due. The old aunties and uncles of a great past are among our tender memories. Paul said: 'Forget those things which are behind, and reach forth unto those things that are before you.' We are reaching forth to the best of our ability, but how can we forget the better part of life; the happy, contented, and peaceful life of the old South. I thank God for such a time, and that I was permitted to enjoy it for a season. The most difficult task is the taking up of the broken threads of life; the threads are so completely broken and cast out that I find it very hard to tie them. The main thread of my life is forever broken; the hardships of four-years' war ruined my health. I cannot outlive the effects, but I expect to do my duty and leave the rest to God."

After Mr. Higgins returned from his mission of peacemaker, Mrs. Higgins withdrew, saying that she would leave them with their hobby of the days that are no more.

"You settled the matter to the satisfaction of both, did you?" asked Dr. Daniels.

"Yes, I have great influence with the older negroes, but do you know, I can see a change that comes with conditions and teachings. The devil's school of reconstruction will ever have its effect on the negro of the future. In our day and time we will continue to have a few old-time darkies of the Aunt Frances type, but our children will face new conditions and a much worse type of negro. Yes, I have often asked myself this question: Was the welfare of the negro a real factor in the abolition of slavery? Abolitionism was a propaganda composed of the fanatics of the North and South, headed by the dogma of Thomas Jefferson, 'All men are born free and equal.' Mrs. Stowe's book of rot, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' did more for the emancipation of the slave than all the preaching of the abolitionists. I suppose that is why the negro's freedom is becoming so rotten; it was founded on rot.

"The perverted conscience did not exist alone in the North. One of the abolitionists who won national reputation was born

in East Tennessee—John Rankin, born in Jefferson county in 1793. He was a Presbyterian clergyman, but was connected with the under-ground railroad and assisted in the escape of Eliza and her child, the originals of the characters in Mrs. Stowe's book. Going to Ohio, he joined the Garrison abolition movement. He was mobbed more than twenty times for the manner in which he expressed his anti-slavery views, mostly in the North. Elihu Embree, of Tennessee, was the founder and editor of the first abolition paper published in the United States. It was a Southern man, Levi Coffin, of New Garden, North Carolina, who was the most notorious leader in the infamous under-ground railway business. For thirty years he was its president, only resigning when the negroes of Cincinnati celebrated the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment.

“The war of oppression and ruin to the South was led by a Southern man as President and Vice-President. I believe a great many abolitionists at the North were honestly mistaken, while others hated the South; and I also believe that the Southern abolitionists hated the South and that

they knew slavery was the ax on which to grind, and that by continual grinding they could accomplish the destruction of the land that gave them birth. I have the greatest respect for the Northern Federal soldier who fought in the Civil War purely from love of his section of the country: he met his obligation to the best of his ability. It is but natural for a man to uphold the cause of the people of his native soil—a people with whom he is acquainted and whom he loves. There is no place like home, and no people like the home people, therefore I honor the true Federal army.”

“What do you think of the man born and reared, and living in the South up to the time of the war, who then joined the Federal army?” interrogated Dr. Daniels.

“I have never had any respect for that class of individuals. I think they were of the same breed as Judas Iscariot; they could see that the great majority must rule in the end, and they wanted to be with the popular crowd. My belief is founded on the fact that the Southern man knew the negro and his real condition in the South; therefore the Southern Fed-

eral soldier could not have been honestly mistaken. Since time immemorial there have been classes of individuals who follow the crowd, regardless of facts or conditions. Some of the great generals of the Confederacy were Northern men, but their cases were very different; they had come South to live, had come to love the people, and had become acquainted with conditions as they then existed; when war was declared they cast their lots with the people of their adoption and shouldered arms in defense of their Southern homes and firesides. One of the greatest Arkansas Confederate generals was General Reynolds, a Northern man. He lived and died in the State of his adoption loved and honored by the Southern people. I have yet to see a Northern gentleman who comes South to live who does not change his ideas in regard to the negro race. The Northern man brought face to face with the real negro soon discovers that he is not a white man in a negro's skin.

"As the years roll on the North will realize this fact to the satisfaction of both sections. I am glad that slavery is dead, for we can meet our Maker with less responsibility; it was a great responsibility

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Aye, the 'uncle' and the 'aunty'
With the bygones soon will be
And no more 'mars' and 'missus'
Will there come to you and me.

"No more of the crooning 'mammy'
Softly swaying to and fro,
With her love unchanged, enduring,
Will the Southland's wee ones know;
No more that careless sing-song,
In measure quaint and droll,
Will o'erflow from hearts so happy
Till of music seemed each soul.

"No more that admiration
And that darky pride so great
In the fleecy acres
Of his master's vast estate.
No more that fond affection
For the household on the hill,
For the trusty, old-time darky
Had no equal—nor e'er will.

"No more that joy, the wildest
That a rustic race e'er knew;
When the Christmas feasts were ready
And that day no work to do;
Or the marriage of 'young missus',
To some magnate of the land,
When the darky shared the glory
Of the bravest of that band.

"No more that grief profoundest,
When old 'mars' or 'missus' died;
Or the baby from the big house
Was lowered by their side,

THE NEGRO:

For the darky mourned as truly
For the master and his kind,
As the faithful in the annals
Of grief we ever find.

“ And to one good old ‘ aunty ’
Still is spared, tho’ brief her days,
And I oft in silence wonder
At her dear old darky ways.
Still, when sickness comes, or sorrow,
Other friends may faint and fall,
But ‘ black mammy ’ never falters—
She is faithful thro’ it all.

“ With a heart surcharged with sorrow,
Do I watch them pass away,
For the old South with them endeth,
And the new assumes its way;
With the passing of the darky
Of that good old golden time,
So passeth out forever
That fair epoch of our clime.”

—JOSIE FRAXEE CAPPLEMAN.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHANGES OF TIME

"Time! on whose arbitrary wing
The varying hours must lag or fly;
Whose tardy winter, fleeting spring,
But drag or drive us on to die."

It was night, and nature seemed to be wrapped in slumber, when Mr. Higgins was called to the Daniels plantation with a message from Mrs. Daniels saying the Doctor was very sick, and wished him to come over. Nearing the Daniels home he could see a light burning dimly in the Doctor's room, with a form now and then passing between the light and the darkness outside, as if something unusual was going on in the room. On entering, Mr. Higgins realized the Doctor's condition, but asked how he was.

"I have reached the end of my journey, but could not die without seeing my old friend once more in the flesh," said Dr. Daniels. "My comrade in war and in peace, in sunshine and rain; we have spent some happy hours together as friends and

neighbors, but must separate for a while." All the while the Doctor was talking Mr. Higgins sat in silence overcome with grief and deep emotion.

"I know that you will assist my wife and children in every way possible."

"Yes, I will do the best I can for them, but you may survive this sickness," said Mr. Higgins.

"No, I am worn out and must cross the great divide to where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. I do not feel that I have lived in vain, but I could have lived better," the sick man replied.

After giving instructions to his wife and children, the Doctor asked them to retire from the room, and to call Louis, his faithful servant, for he wished to talk to him. Old Louis, who was about seventy-five years of age, had served the elder Daniels, who gave him to his son, the Doctor, at his marriage.

Louis came in slowly, with bowed head and sad countenance. The Doctor beheld him with a look of much feeling, and said: "Louis, I am going to leave this world for a better one, and I want to tell you what I expect of you after I am gone."

"Oh, Marse Renta, don't talk dat way."

"You have been a faithful servant all your life, to my father first, and then to me. Now, Louis, if I have ever mistreated you, or hurt your feelings, I want you to forgive me."

"No, Marse Renta, you is been a good marster ter me all yo' born days, and how is dis ole po' nigger gwine ter do widout you?"

"Louis, your Miss' Sallie and the children will divide with you so long as they have anything, and I want you to stay with them and remain as true to them as you have been to me. My wife and children will provide for you the few years you have to live."

"Dat I will, Marse Renta. I 'spects to live and die rite on dis here place; and I 'spects to do de bes' I can for my missus and dem chillen."

"I believe you will, Louis, and I know they will treat you right. You can go now."

Old Louis moved up to the bed, and taking his master's hands in his, he said: "Farewell, Marster, farewell. I is gwine ter meet you up yander."

He left the room with the tears flowing down his black cheeks, and the Doctor was deeply moved.

As the good old negro passed out, Mr. Higgins said: "I thank Thee, Lord Jesus, for the devotion of master and slave and for the sanctification of this hour."

A few hours later the magnanimous soul of Dr. Daniels returned to the God who gave it, and according to the natural order of things his tired body was laid away to await the grand reunion in that bright morning of the resurrection.

The sundering of the threads of this life came to these two families very fast. Ten years later Mr. Higgins succumbed to the inevitable and joined his comrades on the celestial shore. He was a man of sound judgment, although inclined to optimism, a man on whom the neighbors depended for advice and guidance under the new conditions. He had great influence with the negroes of the community. The negro knew that if he had occasion to enter the Higgins home, he must enter the back door with his hat off; nevertheless he held Mr. Higgins in very high esteem, for he knew that he was his friend in need

and in deed. The respect the negro had for this Southern gentleman was demonstrated by the number who were allowed to view the body during the two days he lay in state at his home. So ended a well-spent life.

We leave these two old plantation homes, where once reigned happiness, peace, plenty, and ante-bellum hospitality, but now devastated by the ravages of time. Between the life that is and the life that was, comes the wreck and ruin brought by the changes of time. The two remaining children of the Higgins family, who were married before the death of their father and mother, have migrated to the city; the old home is occupied by negroes and it stands to-day a wreck of its former grandeur, with only fond memory to bring the light of other days to it. The old Daniels home stands deserted, uninhabited save by the bats and owls which have taken refuge in the gloom and stillness of the place. Out from the "big house" come ghostly shadows of a dead past.

The Daniels girls married before their mother's death; two live in an adjoining State, and one still lives in the great State

of Arkansas. Sometimes we wander back again to where the old home stands, feeling that we have reached a hallowed spot that holds the most sacred memories. As we stand by the ruins of the old home we thank God for memory. Around each old cabin door cluster fond memories of a race that has passed.

“ Ah, sad and strange as in dark summer, dawns
The earliest pipe of half-awaken'd birds
To dying ears, when unto dying eyes
The casement slowly grows a glimmering square;
So sad, so strange, the days that are no more.”

II

THE PRESENT

CHAPTER X

THE PRESENT

WHEN General Lee surrendered at Appomattox former things passed away and all things became new. We of the South transferred our former rights and responsibilities for the negro to the people of the North—but we never transferred our citizenship or the right to preserve Anglo-Saxon civilization in the South. The North has ever been a white man's country, therefore the Northern people cannot understand the fallacy of negro rule; neither does it realize the struggle the South has undergone to keep pace with it in retaining white civilization. Each year draws the two sections nearer together on this question, and if we live long enough we shall see them meet face to face.

After the war it was as impossible for the negro to accept the new condition advantageously as it was for the white man. The new condition was foreign to

the nature of both races, but the negro became the greater sufferer, for the mechanism of his constructed being was not equal to the occasion; consequently he became the victim of the white man's mistakes. I have thought that if God had intended the negro to be a white man He would have made him after the same plan, mentally, morally, and physically, thereby giving him the right to the white man's standard; but an all-wise God constructed him after a different style of divine architecture; therefore he can never be anything but a negro, and must remain in his place in this section of the Republic.

After the war the vast majority of the colored population remained in the South, attended the school of reconstruction, and were taught their rights and privileges, which far surpassed those of the whites during that dark age. It was not so easy to teach the ante-bellum negro that he was his master's equal, and he never really learned the lesson, although he was willing to practice said teaching when occasion presented itself. The members of the young generation, who have been given the opportunity of an education, have been graduated in the doctrine of the

equality of the races, and they pass out into the world of reality with the idea that a great future awaits them, in which the whites will be lost in the dust caused by their passing.

In their institutions of learning the negro is taught that his is a great race, and that he has been hampered and kept down by the prejudice of the white man. This lesson is mastered to such an extent that race hatred reigns supreme with the new generation, which has become restless, dissatisfied, and worthless. Such is the present. The contented old darkies of the past have given away to the gentlemen of leisure, too busy to work, and the ladies who "jest take" something to keep these gentlemen from starving. These toilers for a dishonest living have caused the planters to abandon their plantation homes for more economical conditions in the towns and cities; and while compelled to seek a more economical condition, the planter is also forced to seek a safer existence for his family, closer to the protection of the officers of the law.

That race hatred has reached a high state of development is beyond doubt, and it stands to-day the darkest cloud upon

the horizon of this land of sunshine. The presence of the two races is the South, one the most superior and the other the most inferior, and their attitude toward each other, presents a unique situation in the history of the Republic. That there should be antagonism and prejudice one toward another, is natural, since by nature they belong to the two divisions of the human family most diverse in racial qualities and traditions. These racial differences were caused by the Great Jehovah, but the intensified alienation produced is the work of man. The would-be friends of the negro have made the mistake of trying to change racial differences by environment, but races under the same environment do not change in their natural relations to each other. Whether the white man goes into Africa or the black man comes to America, the inherited racial distinction remains, and no change of environment can make the Anglo-Saxon descend to the African or lift the negro to the high plane of equality with the Anglo-Saxon; the hereditary racial qualities will remain under any environment. Through moral cultivation men may be lifted, but we should not lose sight of the

fact that under the best system of education each will be lifted in ratio to his inherited capacity, and no environment will ever completely change either individual or racial condition.

The misguided people of the North have misled the negro, and he lives in the South under peculiar circumstances. After forty years of freedom, about eight millions of negroes remain within the borders of the South. Why? Because the Southern white man is his best friend, has more patience with his laziness, and will help him if he makes any effort to get along. In the eight million negroes there are thousands who endeavor to live and let live, and there are also thousands who are trying to live without work.

The most dangerous feature of the negro's present condition is the increasing migration from the plantations to the cities and towns. The desire to live without work, and to give their children better opportunities for so-called education, is the cause for this migration. After congregating in the cities licentiousness pervades the atmosphere of their idle lives to the disconcertion of both races. The average annual death rate per 10,000 popu-

lation in five Southern cities shows an excess of colored over white of 73.8. Of all deaths among the negroes 23.24 per cent. are due to consumption and pneumonia.

Professor Harris, of Fisk University, says: "While I do not depreciate sanitary regulations, and a knowledge of hygienic laws, I am convinced that the *sine qua non* of a change for the better in the negro's physical condition is a higher morality. I do not believe that his poverty or his relation to white people presents any real impediment to his health or physical development. For the causes of his low vitality, susceptibility to disease, and his enormous death rate, we must look to those social conditions which he erects for himself."

This is true; the negro, being a degenerate, has in freedom erected for himself a very low standard of morals. It is a well-established fact that the free negro has degenerated from the slave, and the virtues of his bondage are dead to the new generation. In slavery consumption was almost unknown, and the rapid increase of this disease reveals the debauched life of the present.

The same law holds for the negro race that is true for other races: "No people rise above the condition of its women." Virtue is at a very low ebb among the negro women, and if the men cannot rise above the condition of their women, I think it would be a good idea for the city negroes to return to the cotton fields and make cotton. Cotton constitutes a great part of the wealth of the South, and holds a powerful relation to the commercial world; therefore cotton must be produced.

When the negro turns his back on the cotton field he is losing ground in the South. He has racial qualities indicating that his largest possibilities lie in the range of manual labor, and that as a laborer and agriculturist he may make of himself a valued factor to the nation. All honor to him or any man who is an honest producer of those things upon which the life of the world depends.

The trouble with the negro of the present is this: After reaching the primary grades of an education he considers manual labor humiliating, and having a natural aversion to physical labor, he seeks to live without work, thereby making an effort to shirk the responsibilities

of this life. St. Paul says: "Nay, but O man, who art thou that repliest against God; shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor, and another to dishonor?"

We have in the South thousands of negroes who are following their proper calling. Of those employed in gainful occupations, 57 per cent. are engaged in agriculture and gardening, 31 per cent. in personal service, and 12 per cent. in all other occupations. From a penniless population just out of slavery 372,414 owners of homes have emerged, and on 255,156 of those homes there is no incumbrance. In 1900 there were 732,362 farms operated by negroes in the South valued at \$469,506,555. We find 150,000 own their own farms. Ninety per cent. of the property now owned by negroes is possessed by those trained in slavery or who grew up immediately after emancipation. So much for the grand old ante-bellum negro, the link connecting the glorious past with the great, restless, and expanding present.

CHAPTER XI

NEGRO OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

WHEN God placed the black man in the South He also placed a partition wall separating the two races, and this partition wall not being erected by the prejudice of the Southern people, has given to the negro his greatest opportunities in the South. He is by nature adapted to the climate and to the rule of the Southern white man, who is his friend so long as he obeys the law and is satisfied to serve his country in the capacity in which God designed him. The Southern people look upon the negro as a free man, but not as their equal in any way, shape, or form. We are always ready to help him travel life's journey in the right direction, realizing that God expects us to simply do our duty toward the colored people, and to leave the rest to Him.

The South has often withheld the negro's right to vote, but never his right to earn an honest living. Though decreas-

ing in number, we still have a great many who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and this class take little interest in voting. The young generation would take a more decided interest in voting if not required to pay poll tax. The South has always, and ever will, given to the negro the opportunity to live honestly and industriously. This is the "door of hope" which is open to him at all times. The entering of this door to the industrial South lies entirely within the choice of the negro, and this fact stares him in the face, that if *he* does not enter it somebody else will.

These people, who have shown themselves in their own land incapable of emerging from barbarism and performing the duties of a civilized race, have under the leadership and rule of the Southern white man been taught to perform these duties, and they are to-day qualified for the great opportunities in the field of labor which the South holds out to them. Will they accept the opportunities according to their qualifications? While the negro has no opportunity to hold office within the jurisdiction of the Southern white man, he has every opportunity for the exercise of his capacity as laborer in

the avenues of industry. We consider the right to earn bread by honest work his greatest opportunity, and the best gift of a civilization to man. The negro in the South is preacher, teacher, physician, and lawyer; he is in the dry goods business; he is shoemaker, carpenter, and blacksmith; he runs errands and blacks boots. He is everywhere where there is anything to do; and if he does his work well, he is usually treated fairly and paid for it honestly.

The negro accepts the opportunity to obtain education with more assurance to himself and with less promise to the South than he grasps any other privilege within his reach. The Southern people, while in poverty, voluntarily taxed themselves and gave freely for the education of the negro. In an effort to uplift and better his condition we have expended one hundred and thirty-five millions in taxes for his education. We have 30,000 negro public schools, and the taxes to maintain these schools have been paid almost entirely by the whites. In 1899 the negroes paid a direct tax of \$1,336,291, with a large claim for indirect taxes. Of the number of negro children under instruction, 37.8 per cent. attend school six months or more

during the year, and \$2.27 per capita for the number in attendance is expended. Statistics show that the white people in the State of Arkansas pay more than 94 per cent. of the total taxes of the State. A little less than 6 per cent. is paid by the negroes.

The census of 1900 shows there were at that time 944,588 whites and 366,825 negroes in the State. The population has grown since, but as this growth has been entirely by immigration of whites, negroes still form 20 to 25 per cent. of the total population of the State at the present time. The public school fund is shared alike by the negroes and whites, though the white people pay the taxes. In the rich farming districts of the State, where the negroes form the majority of the population, they have four schools to one for the whites; still the whites pay the taxes for said schools.

The latest statistics attainable give the number of negro schools and colleges in the South (outside of the common schools) as 170, with a pupilage of over 20,000. Of this number there are 31 colleges with 750 students that have graduated 2,079 men and 252 women. There

are 98 institutions giving industrial courses, with 17,188 pupils. There are 94 public high schools employing 326 teachers, with a pupilage of 12,202. There are 138 high schools and seminaries supported by churches or private benevolence (five are in the North), with 39,419 pupils in all grades; a large per cent. of these are receiving industrial training. There is annually expended \$7,500,000 on the 30,000 negro public schools of the South. These statistics show the negro's opportunity for the so-called education in this section of the country. He has accepted these privileges to such an extent that the illiteracy of negro males of voting age had been reduced to fifty-two per cent. in 1900. In the face of this, crime increases among the negroes. In the State penitentiaries of the South 85 to 93 per cent. of the total number of convicts are negroes. Of these more than nine-tenths have grown up since slavery. Negro crime is proportionally greater in the North than in the South, and the negro percentage in both sections is much larger than the white. Each year finds the negro less reliable, more worthless, and criminal; yet we do not allow the failure of the masses to obscure the

founded by our fathers on the virtues and intelligence of the people, and there we intend it shall remain. Be it said to honor of the South that its people have and ever will stand by the negro in the exercise and enjoyment of his natural rights; and the ethics taught by the Bible, and the facts revealed by natural history regarding the negro, show very plainly what his natural rights are.

CHAPTER XII

HIS LOST OPPORTUNITIES

Lost opportunities are a mournful heritage, and yet a person of ordinary intelligence can see that the opportunities of the negro are gradually passing from him, owing to his inability, as a freeman, to accept them when offered. The Southern people have had the idea that the negro could till the land better, and that he made a better servant; in fact, they have never wanted anyone but the negro to work for them. Our opinions have received a forced change, and we have been brought face to face with the negro's worthlessness and inability as a free laborer to rank with the white man. Even in his present shiftless condition, we regret to give him up. We pity the poor deluded and misguided creatures, for we know that they are not to blame for their present condition—that they are the victims of the white man's differences, and yet it is true that he is becoming more of a curse as the

years roll on, and must be replaced with a more reliable class of labor.

There was a time when the carriage-drivers and delivery-men, barbers, domestic servants, and farm hands were all negroes, but this condition is fast passing away, never to return. We now have numbers of white carriage-drivers and delivery-men, and the white barber is gradually taking the place of the negro, for the reason that he is a better and cleaner barber. The replacing of the negro as a domestic servant seems to be the slowest process, because the white servant does not want to come in contact with the colored domestic; yet we never allow an opportunity to secure a white domestic to pass. The women of the South are learning to do their own work from force of circumstances, and many will not employ a negro, yet a large number who are compelled to have help must endure the immoral and filthy negro servant. The "servant problem" in the South is a part of the "negro problem," and it means as much to them as to us. The large majority of young colored women who seek service in our homes are two generations removed from slavery and its training.

The negroes that our mothers trained are now too old to serve; their children, who possibly were taught by their mothers some of the domestic duties and the "old-time spirit," are now in middle age with families and are therefore not often available. Yet we have a few good negro servants, whom we hold as treasures and give due praise, with good wages.

While the immigration movement is as yet in its infancy in the South, it is already having its effect on the Southern labor market. The large planters in the cotton belt section are replacing negroes with Italians—they, after practical experiments, having shown their superiority over the negro as a farm laborer. The labor must be performed, and if the negroes will not do it, the labor supplies of the whole world must be drawn on. The cause for the scarcity of labor on the plantation at the present is that the antebellum negroes are dying off from old age, and those of the next generation who grew up immediately after the emancipation of the slave cannot produce the necessary amount of cotton. The majority of young negroes leave the plantations at the age of sixteen or seventeen and mi-

grate to the cities, leaving vacancies which must be filled by white labor.

On the great plantations of the western section of the cotton belt Italians are fast taking the place of the negro, but the negro who gives value received for his wages—and there are still a great many such left in the South—will continue to find steady employment. The developers of the South who employ labor care nothing about the theories of the “negro problem” as affected by immigration. They have no sentiment in the matter, and no undue prejudice against the negro; so long as he performs his labor satisfactorily to his employer, the color of his skin is not taken into account. The large number of shirks, eye-servants, lazy vagabonds, and impostors in the colored race who are drawing pay for labor unperformed, because they at present enjoy a monopoly of the South’s labor, will find a change has come when the sturdy foreign immigrant becomes an active factor of competition in the labor market. The replacing of the negro with the white man on the plantations is slowly but surely coming about. When the labor in the South is reduced to a question of “the

survival of the fittest," the negro as a laborer can be expected to make a wonderful improvement. No amount of theorizing can prevent this condition from being put into practice, and an impractical theory is useless.

All our efforts and expenditure of money to uplift and make a useful citizen of the negro as a freeman have been in vain. We have "sown the wind and are reaping the whirlwind." We have borne the white man's burden for forty years and have tried to bear it to the betterment of both races. It is natural for the burden-bearer to tire as the burden increases in weight and decreases in quality; and "the continual dropping of water wears away a stone." It is human for us to try to lighten our burdens and better our conditions; we own the land and will employ the best labor available to cultivate our plantations. When the negro ceases to be a laborer on the plantation, his greatest opportunity is gone.

Through the years that have passed the negro has held the idea that if the white folks prospered, he would prosper also, and he was correct; whether this will hold good in the years to come remains to be

seen. Of the opportunities presented the negro by the South the one that has been the most acceptable to his race is the opportunity for an education. He takes the advantage of this with the intention of some day being a partaker in the higher things of the country. He is sacrificing his very existence to this one idea, and is being left in a very helpless condition. As a rule, an educated gentleman of leisure who wanders about with no place to lay his head usually finds a place in the penitentiary.

The negroes are gradually becoming a race of degenerate loafers and criminals, a condition which naturally demands a change. How momentous is the end of a definite period in the life of an individual, and how much more so is the close of an epoch in the history of a nation! Sad indeed it is, when over against the name of a whole people is written "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting," and the sentence of divine justice goes into execution. God expects all people to follow those paths in life for which He created and foreordained them, and He will deal with white and black according to His promises.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INTEGRITY OF THE NEGRO

THE negro lives a double life, one before the white man's face and one behind his back. He is arrayed against the whites only when in trouble, and there is no contract he will not break, if the opportunity presents itself. A strong characteristic of the negro is his inability to hide his own misdeed—he will invariably betray himself. Even the best educated mulatto cannot disguise his true thoughts, and in his public utterances and in his writings the intentions and desires of his heart are easily discerned. Duplicity dominates his nature. He knows how to deceive a Southern person when he needs help, or desires a gift. He will stand around with his hat off, tell how much he thinks of "white folks," how he has stood by them at all times, and that they are his best friends. He usually gets what he wants, for the majority who make this plea are "old-time" darkies, the links connecting

the old with the new South. The new generation is not so polite. They ask for very little, because they have a better plan of "taking things" in the darkness of night. The colored cook will hand out at the kitchen window the food necessary for these gentlemen of leisure to live without work. I prefer the negro thief to the white, for the negro steals on a much smaller scale. He will steal from you constantly, and require pay for labor only half performed, until you are in sight of the poor house, where he leaves you to get away as best you can. He then moves to new fields and continues to work his schemes with success.

It is a fact that a negro will not live with, nor work for, people he calls "po' white folks"—he looks for the white man who can give him the best living for the least work. He keeps a contract so far as the law enforces contracts, and no farther. He often makes two or three contracts with as many different planters during the time from the gathering of the crop until time to plant a new one. He manages the contract business in the following way: At the end of the season he is usually in debt to the planter who owns

the plantation on which he has raised his crop, and who has furnished him with a living for a year. He moves in the night to another plantation, contracts for the coming season to work a crop, and is supplied with the necessary food for the winter months. He then watches for an opportunity and again moves away, leaving his second victim to profit by a sad experience. If the planter undertakes to enforce the contract, the negro will have him arrested for peonage, and when the white man is arraigned before the Federal judge for trial, the negro has his colored friends as witnesses, and they invariably swear falsely—lying being one of the negro's strongest characteristics. He wins his peonage case according to evidence presented, and the planter pays a fine and returns to his plantation, a wiser if not a better man. The down-trodden, injured, and innocent Afro-American citizen then invades a new field, seeking fresh victims. This type of negro predominates the present South.

The largest planter in the State of Arkansas, said to be the largest individual planter in the South, is replacing the negro with Italians, because he cannot de-

pend upon the unreliable and worthless negro of the present day. During the past year he has had thirty-seven houses vacated in the summer by negroes who had contracted to cultivate a crop on his plantation. These negroes had been supplied with necessary food and clothing, after receiving which they concluded they did not have to work, and moved to the city, where their daughters lead a life of ill-repute and their boys work only two days in a week, hanging around low dives the rest of the time. Here the family depends upon the negro girl who secures a place as cook in a white family, to feed them, while the father walks the street. Often those forced to employ a cook from the young class of negroes learn that their missing cook is in the calaboose. If her fine is paid with the understanding that she is to cook until the money is refunded, nine cases out of ten an empty servant house is found, vacated in the darkness of the night, and the money paid for the fine is never regained.

The president of a negro college in South Carolina who said, "Negro women have brought white women to the kitchen, and I hope they will soon bring them to

the washtub," spoke the truth about the kitchen, but I hardly think his wish of bringing them to the washtub will be realized. The white people of the South have at last learned the lesson of negro worthlessness and are looking about to better their condition. That the white woman has been brought to the kitchen does not add luster to the future of the race in the South; neither does it add to the so-called "negro progress." The negro president lost sight of the causes producing this condition or he would have remained silent. The cause of this condition is negro impudence, worthlessness, dishonesty, and the education which in their opinion qualifies them for a higher position than that of a domestic servant. The tired housewife of the South lives with the idea that it is a "long lane that never turns," and some sweet day she may have a high class of white servants whom she can trust and respect for their real worth.

Give the negro rope and he will hang himself every time. In the invention of falsehood he stands without a rival. Secret organizations and lodges are formed for the purpose of plotting against the whites, and at these secret meetings full

vent is given to their hatred by the use of vile and vituperative language against the white race in general, and especially the white man who chances to know the negro and tells the truth regarding him in public. To tell the truth regarding his race hurts his feelings, and the white person who does it is untruthfully branded a "nigger hater." They also condemn the better class of their race who are endeavoring to live in peace and harmony with the whites, calling them "white folks' niggers," and these find little favor with the race.

The colored people uphold the criminal element of their own race and render them every assistance possible in escaping the punishment of the law. It makes no difference with the negro how fiendish the crime; if only a white person be the victim, it is all right and he considers it his duty to assist the poor, downtrodden, innocent brother of a martyr race to make good his escape from the usurpers of a power that should be in the hands of his own intelligent black race. We have the testimony of the best educated negroes who claim that they are the white man's superior, when given a chance. Educa-

tion makes the negro a conceited simpleton. This is my reason for thinking that God never intended money to be wasted educating the servile mind of the negro. It clouds his mind with vain imaginations, and deepens the mystery of the white man's world to him. I believe if God had intended the negro to receive the same education as the white man, He would have given him the same faculties of mind.

The negro has the idea that he has a perfect right to commit crime, and should go free under all circumstances, because the Anglo-Saxon made the law. For this reason the law is wrong and should not be obeyed by a race kept down by the white man's prejudices. Does the white man's prejudice keep the savages of Africa down? The colored preacher will condemn lynching, but never the fiend who brings it about. The ministers are very often the most vicious of the race, yet are the most popular. He who tries to do right finds little favor with this people. As a rule, virtue and honesty are unknown quantities among them; they are an intemperate people, women as well as men loving liquor and drinking all they can get. Character receives little considera-

tion, the degenerate and criminal standing just as high in colored society or church as the "old-time" darky, who has never been in the penitentiary. Their society is graded according to education, consequently the ante-bellum darky does not stand very high, for he is illiterate. The real negro will never have a high standing in colored society graded by education, for he cares no more for the schools than does the monkey that roves at will in his native haunts.

Generally speaking, the colored race is a homeless people, and will, I think, remain so, for they were created a servile race and can never maintain a high place in the scale of civilization, any more than an ignorant people can maintain a high state of culture and refinement. If my Northern friends doubt my definition of negro integrity they can come South and learn of these people. Still I believe the Southern negro to be superior to the Northern negro.

CHAPTER XIV

RACIAL CAPACITY

RACIAL peculiarities and limitations of the black race were created in the beginning; mere man cannot erase them. In the creation of the negro, God set a limit, the above which he cannot rise; they were created a stationary race, with a brain five ounces less in weight than that of the white man. With a larger brain, God gave to the white man qualities denied the blacks and made the negro a subordinate to the superior Anglo-Saxon. The negro cannot think for himself and is lacking reflective faculties; he cannot do anything except by imitation; he imitates the whites in everything but the right thing; like the monkey, his sensual nature is the limit of his ideals. He learns to read and write very readily, but beyond this his mind is dull and vacant. We have records of full-blooded negroes being educated, but they are prodigies. Nine out of ten of the so-called educated negroes are half or three-

fourths white, and this fact is one of the strongest proofs of the authenticity of the Bible, which declares that God made the negro race for servants. Another confirmation of the Bible is the inferior physical structure and moral organization of the negro, which illustrates very forcibly the cause of Ham's curse. Still more evidence is shown by the fact that the negro is the only race able to live successfully with the white people, and that they *must* dwell with the white man in order to be useful. Those of the race who are guilty of the most fiendish crimes are more brute than human; they have no capacity for education and, like a brute, ambition; therefore the school cannot reach them. Those who have inherited white blood enough to receive an education never become really efficient among white men; neither do they become really great leaders of their own race. The duplicity of the negro will assert itself. As a rule, he has no capacity beyond the rudiments of an education.

It seems from the testimony of some of the best educated negroes that they become dreamers—in proportion as they are educated—dreamers of impossibilities, so far

as their welfare in the South is concerned. With education they seem to acquire a deep-seated hatred for the Southern whites because their ancestors were held in slavery by them.

The negro's greatest capacity is developed on the plantation in the cultivation of cotton and corn. His possibilities are greatest in industrial pursuits, and even then he must have the white man to direct him, or he is a failure. He is very destructive. If a white man leases his land to the negro and moves away, the plantation soon has a dilapidated and deserted appearance; fences are burned for firewood, and the house in which he lives destroyed by degrees; soon he moves to another plantation, to live in better quarters for a short time.

He is dependent upon the white man for direction, and instead of blaming either the negro or white man for this condition, would it not be better to realize that the mental and moral limitations of the race are such that it has no progressive ability independent of the guidance of a superior race, other than an imitative faculty. If the laboring class of the whites had enjoyed for nearly two generations in the

South the same advantages the colored race has, with a knowledge of farming and the ability to labor, it would now be the owner of most of the fertile cotton-producing lands. The negro, however, is not capable of taking advantage of these natural conditions, and the land is not his; he is a poorer and more thriftless laborer than were his fathers who came forth from bondage.

God in His wisdom made the negro race for menial and manual labor; anatomically he is nearer the brute; his nervous system is modeled different from that of the white; the smaller brain and the larger nerves make the digestion of the negro better, and his animal appetites stronger.

He is slower in motion, and the ethnical elements, which compare him to the mule, prove that God created him to perform manual labor, giving him those ethnical elements as a guarantee to the race of ample protection against the abuse of arbitrary power. The ethnology of the black race does not stop at proving that subordination to the white race is its normal condition, but it goes farther, and proves that social and political equality

is abnormal, under all circumstances. Neither negro nor mulatto knows how to use power when it is given to them. Power over his family is used in a brutal manner, although I have seen a few negroes who really cared for their wives and children.

The colored man requires governing in everything, even in his food and drink, his clothing and hours of repose. This fact is the cause of his deterioration as a free man. Disease and filth lurk among them; consumption is destroying great numbers every year, a disease brought on by exposure to cold weather and by debauchery of the lowest order. At present these conditions do not cost us any money or anxiety. The negro is a free man and must account for himself.

The negro is eminently qualified for a number of occupations which the white man regards as degrading. They are ever at the tables, at your elbow in hotels, steamboats, and Pullman cars, ready with brush in hand to dust the coat, black the shoes, or perform any menial service which may be required. The open palm is always held out for the dime. Their strong muscles, hardy frames, and prefer-

ence to labor in the sun qualify them for agricultural employment in hot climates. The happiest and most contented of the race in the South are those who are earning their living on the cotton plantations.

My most tender memories of plantation life and the plantation darkies are the songs sung by them while riding the mules from the farm to the barn at the close of the day's work. One often sung was:

" I ain't gwine tell you no stories,
I ain't gwine to tell you no lies,
I'm gwine away to leave you,
Sweetheart, good-bye."

The negro is endowed with a talent for creating simple poetry. In my opinion the Southern darkies are the sweetest singers in the world, and, in the days that are gone, were the happiest people on earth. God endowed the negro with happiness and with musical talent, but this happiness has been destroyed to a great extent; they are restless and dissatisfied, and I believe this is one cause for the increase of crime among them.

We have made the mistake of trying to lift the negro above his station by the

wrong method of education, yet we censure him for his condition.

He who doubts that the negro was created a servant to his brethren, doubts the Word of God. When placing the curse upon the posterity of Ham, God never promised to remove it, and He never will. We may spend all the money in the world in an attempt to make him the white man's equal, and fail, and in this unsuccessful attempt we introduce methods which will lead to the destruction of the race, sooner or later.

I do not agree with the theory that the bringing of the black man to America was a curse, for God commanded him to be a servant to his brethren, and he could not have been a servant had he remained in the jungles of Africa. The curse has been brought by the envy and jealousy of the two sections of our country. I believe that, when called to give an account for the deeds done in the body, the whites will have to account for the condition of the negro, unless they can find an excuse through the ignorance of the law. Paul says: "For as many as have sinned without law shall perish without law, and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be

judged by the law; for not the hearers of the law are just, but the doers of the law shall be justified."

Charles Francis Adams in "Reflex Lights from Africa" says: "During the last eighty years science has put in a good deal of work. Darwin, not less than Watts, Morse, and Bessemer, has had his say; and the Book of Genesis has gone the way of the 'Holy Alliance' and 'England's Wooden Walls.'" It is true that the Book of Genesis has been ignored and set aside as relating to the negro race, but the facts contained in that book, designating his station and capacity, remain steadfast and immovable. His real character will assert itself more and more as the years roll on. The Master stamped these people with inferiority, and no human being can rub it out.

In the whitewashing process we invariably get too much salt in the mixture, and it soon falls off, leaving the original man exposed to view.

Mr. Adams says: "Baker, writing from Africa in 1865, closes his long enumeration of conditions with a startling corollary: 'So long as it is generally considered that the negro and the white man

are to be governed by the same laws and guided by the same management, so long will the former remain a thorn in the side of every community to which he may unhappily belong.' ”

CHAPTER XV

RACE PRIDE

If there is race pride among the negroes of the present, it exists among the few remaining ante-bellum darkies. I often hear them say, "I try's to raise my chillen like I was raised, but I can't do it. I b'lieves in white folks staying in da place and collud folks in da'en." Even these good old darkies do not like to be called negroes. I remember when a child if I spoke in the presence of old-time darkies of negroes, they would reprove me by asking: "Who's you talking 'bout? We ain't niggers. De devil is a nigger." We were taught to respect them by saying "aunt and uncle." I have heard of Northern people saying that we claimed kin with the negroes, but we do not. This was only a mark of respect.

The word negro is distasteful to the majority of the race. They wish you to say "cullud people."

The old-time darky has no respect for

the white person who associates with him on terms of equality. We had in our community an ante-bellum preacher who said of the mulatto: "Who's you mulattoes? You ain't white folks an' you ain't niggers; you ain't nothing!" This is true, but the mulatto is not to blame for his or her existence; it is the low white man, who mixes his blood with the weaker race. And yet the mulattoes are very proud of their white blood and are ever ready to tell you, "My father was a white man."

Very strong evidence that the negroes have no race pride is shown by their seeking to intermingle with the whites on terms of social equality. If they had race pride, they would endeavor to keep it a black race instead of making every effort to form a mongrel race. It is an evident fact that they think white blood and social intermingling of the races elevate them. They never miss a chance to claim social equality. Their desire for social equality is so great that the "Jim Crow" laws of the South have become a thorn in their flesh, and by protesting against and condemning these laws, the people show to the world their strong desire to force themselves upon the whites. Those of the race who are finan-

cially able hire private coaches to convey themselves over the country, rather than to ride in a "Jim Crow" car.

This shows a tendency to disregard the laws of the land when possible. Of course the great majority of the Southern negroes have no desire for social equality, and realize that such a thing is dangerous to their country and the welfare of their people. This desire rests principally with the educated, the bishops, preachers, doctors, lawyers, and professors of the race. Blackstone's "Commentaries" says: "There is not a more necessary or more certain maxim in the frame and constitution of society than that every individual should contribute his share in order to the well-being of society and the community." When the negro makes a move toward social equality in the South, he stirs up disorder and danger to the community. In denouncing the segregation of the races, do they not question the providence of God as to His purpose in the government of the world? The segregation of the races is a divine law, enacted for the defense of society and civilization; therefore the two races will ever remain separate in the South, other than association

from a business standpoint, and the associations of service rendered.

I had a negro to ask me once if I thought she would be a negro in Heaven, remarking: "If I thought I would be a negro when I get to Heaven, I would never pray another prayer."

I told her I could not tell how that would be, but I thought that the curse of Ham was to continue with time and that the negro who was good enough to spend eternity in Heaven would have all the enjoyment of the Heavenly Kingdom, with no line dividing the whites and the blacks, and that Jesus Christ died for her as well as for me and had gone to prepare a place for both. I also told her that I believed our standing in eternity depended upon our life's work, and that the two races would leave their human nature in this world; therefore no dividing line would be necessary in the world to come. This darky said: "Well, I don't want to be a nigger in Heaven."

I do not believe that any negro is proud of being a negro; the great majority realize their inferiority, and are satisfied. The minority, who claim to be the white man's equal, are the victims of an hallucination

brought about by their so-called education. Those of the new generation who are black and have kinky hair make every effort to straighten their locks, some wearing wigs of straight hair. If they were proud of being negroes, they would make no effort to be other than a negro, and would desire the uplifting of the race as a *negro* race.

They have no standard of morals, or of religion, on which to base race pride. Their race pride, like their society, is based on education, regardless of morals or religion. After a negro reaches this standard, he seeks the pulpit as a means of exhibiting his intelligence and the great advancement of his race. He is regarded as a superior being, worthy of imitation. He controls the political as well as the religious attitude of his people. If he tells them to hate white people and that the white people are the cause of their low position in the world, they believe him, and follow his teachings, for he has what they call "a good learning."

Before the negro can have a real cause to be proud of his race he must establish a higher standard of morals and a purer religion for his people; must realize that

education without these things is only the "sowing of the wind and the reaping of the whirlwind." He must base race pride upon virtue, honesty, and industry and become reconciled to being created a negro. When he becomes satisfied to follow the calling to which he was destined in the beginning, then and not till then will he have a right to race pride. Until he reaches this higher standard of life for his race he can have no race pride.

Paul says: "As God has distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk." "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called."

If race pride belongs to the negro, he must find it within the bounds of his calling and in the opportunities afforded him by the Southern States. Race pride built upon a foundation of virtue, honesty, and industry will remain with its builder.

CHAPTER XVI

PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO

THE negro in forty years of freedom has made considerable progress in the way of education, and when you consider that his progress is founded upon false ideas, led by false and malicious teaching, it is remarkable that he has done as well as he has. He has been placed upon a plane of elevation entirely foreign to his nature and endowments, and has been taught to hate the Southern whites because their own ancestors were slaves. It may be said that he hates the white man because he, himself, is a negro. However, his literary education is void of common sense and reason, the great fundamental principles of real knowledge, although he has made great progress in the simpler accomplishment of learning to read and write.

We have this fact demonstrated by the educated negro ministers of New York who denounced our President, Mr. Roosevelt, for discharging three companies of

criminal negro soldiers from the army. The denunciation was as follows: "It has been the pretense and contention of the South that the shiftless negro was the one she despised; but the real South appeared in her true colors when she undertook to run down, humiliate, and outrage the most intelligent, thrifty, and upright people of the community. This was scarcely over before the chief magistrate of the nation covered himself with eternal shame and disgrace by his unjust, unkind, undemocratic, un-American, autocratic, cold, cruel, drastic, and infamous orders against as brave, as heroic, as self-sacrificing set of men as ever wore the blue or ever bore Old Glory on a field of strife. We will not be resentful nor revengeful, but we are bold to denounce the act as an outrage and aggressive enough to demand justice at the highest court of the earth and before the bar of Heaven. Let him of the 'square deal' deal square; let him of the fair play play fair; him of the door of opportunity not shut it and bolt it forever in the face of black veterans." This is a fair sample of their intellect and educational progress, and is also a sample of their regard for the truth.

When this preacher said that the shiftless and ignorant negro was the only one despised by the South, he made a mistake, for the ignorant negro is the only one who will work, and is the only one who is a real benefit to the South, for he is less shiftless than his educated brother. When he receives an education he becomes a minister, a lawyer, doctor, or school-teacher, and we do not need him in these professions. If he had said that the negro brute and the criminal was the one we despised, he would have spoken the truth. He said they were aggressive enough to demand justice; if they are aggressive in this instance, it is the first aggressiveness shown by the race.

The negro has no faculty of taking the initiative in anything tending toward real progress. I must acknowledge that the negro has shown a more aggressive spirit toward the abuse, hatred, and denunciation of the whites; but I consider this to be the hand of God, holding him up in his true light, and demonstrating that he has missed his true calling and has become the victim of misappropriated usefulness.

This denunciation of the President was not confined to the North, but extended

over the nation wherever the educated negro ministers, doctors, and lawyers existed in sufficient numbers to hold a mass meeting. The truth seems to have been that Mr. Roosevelt's family were once slave-holders, and for this reason Mr. Roosevelt had never been a friend to the negro.

The great trouble with the negroes is that they never have sense enough to know who their real friends are until it is too late. When these intelligent gentlemen meet to denounce the whites, they lose sight of the fact that the white man's money paid for the veneering called education which they enjoy, and that they must depend upon the white man for schools, churches, education, employment, and livelihood. Their future progress rests entirely upon the whites. These facts deserve some appreciation at the hands of the race, but in advertising their great progress they never mention at whose expense it was made. Their progress consists chiefly of an appeal for more money with which to qualify for the political field.

Negro progress is a "will-o'-the-wisp" that makes its appearance at negro con-

ventions and public gatherings for the benefit of the unsuspecting public with more money and religion than knowledge of the negro.

I am glad to say that we have in the South thousands of good negroes in the uneducated working class, the bone and sinew of the race. This class is made up of negroes from thirty-five to sixty years of age who were born and raised in the South, never have visited the North, and have no desire to do so. This class is decreasing at such a rapid rate that we have not been able to fill the vacancies by immigration. This class of negroes are the real progressive element of the race, and statistics showing that they own ninety per cent. of the property owned by the negroes prove that the real progress of the race has not been in education, but in the industrial training received in slavery.

The better element of these people, the element that has made the most progress, stays in the background and pursues the even tenor of their lives, while the educated negroes boast of their wonderful progress; consequently the world knows little of the better element of the negro race.

Illiteracy among the negro males of voting age has been reduced in the Southern States from eighty-eight per cent. in 1870 to fifty-two per cent. in 1900. This shows the great progress made toward qualifying to vote, which is the goal of their ambition.

Has this reduction in illiteracy been for the uplifting and for the betterment of the negroes? If so, in what way? They have no more virtue, honesty, or industry now than in 1870; they have gone downward instead of upward during the fifty years of freedom. This downward course cannot be from lack of opportunity, for he has an equal share in the school funds of the State.

He can work beside the white man in the avenues of industry, and yet his only advancement is the slight veneering received in the schoolroom.

The reduction of illiteracy has the appearance of "sowing seed among thorns that will grow up and choke him," for the great majority after learning to read and write seem to feel above work. When the negro arrives at this point, we do not need him in the South. He becomes a menace by traveling among the negroes and giv-

ing out his advanced ideas on negro rights, thereby stirring up strife among those who are haters of the whites.

The great barrier to negro advancement is the weak foundation upon which it is built. It is temporary; therefore it ebbs and flows with the tide, never becoming a reality. Negro progress has no common-sense basis, and it has only a fictitious value in the march of civilization.

Charles Francis Adams says: "What gleam of supposable light does a brief visit to the White Nile throw on our home problem? A good deal, perhaps! In the first place, looking about me among Africans in Africa—far removed from American environments to which I have been accustomed—the scales fell from my eyes. I found myself most impressed by a realizing sense of the appalling amount of error and cant in which we of the United States have indulged on this topic. We have actually wallowed in a bog of self-sufficient ignorance, especially we philanthropists and theorists of New England. We do so still. Having eyes, we will not see. Even now we not infrequently hear the successor to the abolitionist and the humanitarian of the ante-civil war period—

'The Uncle Tom' period—announce that the difference between the white man and the black man is much less considerable than is ordinarily supposed, and that the only real obstacle in the negro's way is that, 'He has never been given a chance.' For myself, after visiting the black man in his own house, I come back with the decided impression that this is the sheerest of delusions, due to pure ignorance of rudimentary facts. Yet we built upon it in reconstruction days as upon foundation stones—a self-evident truth! Let those who indulge in such theories go to Soudan, and pass a week at Omdurman. That place marks in commerce, in letters and in art, in science and in architecture, the highest point of development yet reached by any African race. As already suggested, the difference between Omdurman and London about measures the difference between the white and the black. Indisputably great, that it admits of measurement is questionable. So far as I am advised the Soudanese are the finest race of the whole African species. Physically, they are tall. As a whole, well formed; and, in their savage way, they are indisputably courageous. Yet, in them, not

the slightest inherent power of development has as yet come to the surface. Baker, after living among them for years, calls attention to the striking elementary fact that since the beginning of time to the day that now is they have neither domesticated the elephant nor invented pottery."

It is true that the negro has churches, schools, and colleges, which are monuments to his advancement, but when looking into the facts and figures you find that it is the white man's money that has made this progress possible. The most richly endowed negro college of the South is a college endowed with the Northern white man's money.

There never was a race who have had as much money expended for its advancement and which has made so little progress as the negro race. Eight hundred million dollars has been expended on his education, and Booker Washington says that they own three hundred million dollars' worth of property.

This is called progress, but when you consider the monopoly he has had upon the labor of the South, and the millions of acres he could have accumulated at a very

small cost, it does not show any great advancement.

One great trouble with negro advancement is that after emancipation he was made a traveler on the wrong road. Instructed to travel this road to the best of his ability, he has done so, but instead of reaching a higher life or becoming a whiter man, his journey has been downward, and his fate is still that of a negro.

In the past twenty-five years he has made more progress in the wrong direction than in the previous fifty years. He has advanced to the point where he cares no more about murdering a white man than drinking water; he demands of the whites equal privileges and rights and the wants and needs of his race, and he wants these furnished free of charge. He also desires the criminals of his race to go free. The constitutional law of his progress is to attend school and get a living without work.

Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, said: "For even when we were with you, this we commanded that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are

busy-bodies. Now, them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread."

Among the eight million negroes of the United States there are a great many who would go hungry if this command to the Thessalonians were enforced in their cases. The negro seems to think that the school will make him a great man and the fact of his being a negro will be lost in his greatness. If he expects to make real progress in the South, he must become an honest, industrious, and efficient laborer in the industrial development of the South. The time of the colored gentleman of leisure is passing away, and he will have to change his tactics, or seek a new location.

Of course, it is an easy matter for a homeless people to change their habitation. The negro, to live in the South and make any advancement, must cease to hate the Southern white and recognize the fact that he is morally bound to contribute all in his power to the well-being of the two races. If he cannot do this and continues to occupy a place in the community with no improvement, he must yield to the advances of civilization.

In the eight million negroes of the South we have an abundant supply of labor, if they will only work, and this labor must be rendered available. If the negro cannot be absorbed in the march of civilization and progress, he will, of course, be dropped out.

When God created man he said unto him: "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it." God requires that each of the human race shall fulfill this great command and contribute a part in rendering subservient to human use all the facilities of nature. It is this that causes effete dynasties and nations to disappear from the face of the earth and their places to be filled by those full of life and energy. It is this that has rolled back and is blotting out the mongrel races of the New World, to make room for the onward march of higher civilization. The negro will never occupy any place in the South but that of a subordinate, and the sooner he realizes this fact the better for him. Then, and not until then, will he make real progress.

Paul says: "I therefore beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called." When the ne-

gro walks worthy of his vocation, he will live in peace and harmony with his white neighbor, who is ever ready to help him on life's rugged highway. Ruskin puts it thus: "He only is advancing in life whose heart is growing, whose blood is warmer, whose brain is quicker, whose spirit is entering into living peace."

CHAPTER XVII

RACE PREJUDICE

PREJUDICE is "to prepossess with unexamined opinion, or opinions formed without due knowledge of the facts and circumstances attending the question; to bias the mind by hasty and incorrect notions; to give an unreasonable and unjust aid to one side or the other of a cause."

The North has accused the South of race prejudice, but according to Mr. Webster's definition of prejudice, it is the North who is guilty of race prejudice and not the South, for the North has formed opinions of the negro, "without due knowledge of the facts and circumstances attending the question."

The South has race pride instead of race prejudice. It is generally conceded that the purest Anglo-Saxon blood in America to-day flows in the veins of the Southern people. They have been able to preserve Anglo-Saxon civilization, and will continue to do so. We have due knowledge and correct notions of the negro race and

have no prejudice; the correctness of this statement we leave to the verdict of time.

We of the South look upon the black race as a very inferior people whom God intrusted to our care, for their benefit, as well as for ours; to serve the South while the South served the negro.

While we look upon the negro as a servile race, we have more charity for his faults, and more patience for his shortcomings, and will render him every assistance possible if he makes any effort whatever to do right. It is generally conceded that the Southern white man is the black man's best friend. If he is the negro's best friend, how can he be prejudiced against him?

The refusal to practice social equality is not race prejudice; it is a difference in taste and congeniality of associates. It is very natural for people of refinement to seek society of like nature. The Southern people consider it a duty to God, ancestors, race, country, and even the negro himself, not to allow the social intermingling of the races.

God made the superior race to lead and guide the inferior descendants of Ham, and if the superior sink to the level of

the weaker, they become blind leaders of the blind; and if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.

“Social equality is contrary to the laws of God, the claims of civilization, the progress of society, and the laws of nature.” The mention of this question is very distasteful to the thoroughbred Southerner, but it is not race prejudice; it is race distinction.

This distinction was not placed upon the race by the South, but was made by the Father above and was handed down to us to keep and enforce to the honor and betterment of both races.

The principle of honor or duty has been the mainspring of heroic action, from the beginning of history to the present time, and it is the basis of everything great and noble in all grades of white society; therefore we hold to the separate and distinct races in the South. While the new South is somewhat coarser than the old South, the blood of the aristocrat is still there, and this blood will ever refuse to intermingle socially with the coarser grades of the white race. When we make the distinction with the people of our own race, it seems to me a strange idea for anyone

to think for a moment that we would associate socially with our negro servants; and yet this is called race prejudice.

The "Jim Crow" law of the South is not prejudice; it is a matter of necessity. "Self-preservation is the first law of nature," and the young generation of negroes have grown up free from training, are very impudent, boisterous, and often drunk and disorderly when traveling, making it very dangerous as well as disagreeable. I know that the Southern people would not hesitate to ride on the same car with the good old ante-bellum negro, who was taught to respect the whites, but circumstances alter cases, and at the present time the two races must ride on different cars. The conductor is often attacked while passing through the negro coach, and is sometimes murdered—a condition which makes the "Jim Crow" car very necessary to the welfare of women and children.

I think that the vast majority of the negro race prefer to live in the South, for they fare better there and have a greater number of friends in that section, even if they are required to stay in their proper place.

Booker Washington declared, before the negro Baptist convention in Memphis, that he was proud of the fact that he lived in the South, and that he would spend the rest of his days here because he believed that the American negro would have to work out his destiny in this section of the country. He said in part: "Within the past year I have inspected and studied the conditions and progress of our people in the Northern and Western States as I have never done before, and I have no hesitation in reaffirming my former opinion that the Southern States offer the best permanent abode for the masses of our people." If the South is prejudiced to these people, how can it be their best permanent abode?

Another prominent negro, Charles Brooks, in addressing the Negro Business League in Mississippi, said: "I love the Southland because it is so full of opportunities for the American negro, and if he is to be anything at all, it must be right here in the South. I would not give one county in the South for all your North, yet I am permitted to go to the North when I feel like it, but I would not make that part of the country my home.

Look what we have here: negro bankers, negro lawyers, negro merchants by the score, tailors; in fact, everything that man is doing in any part of the world you will find the negro doing right here, except anarchy; we do not believe in that."

This Brooks has sense enough to know that the negro is not hampered by race prejudice, so-called, but that he is assisted by the Southern white man in earning a living. I have wondered why it is that the North, thinking that the Southern negro is hampered and kept down by race prejudice, did not take him North and give him a fair chance. Let him breathe the pure air of a liberty-loving country. He is free now, can live where he pleases, and I should think that the North is under obligation to him to give him the most comfortable abiding place; but they tell the negro to stay in the South because it is the best place for him.

If he should ever reach the point where he must seek another boarding-place, would the North be willing to board him? It may be that some day he will wish to return to his former owners. "And this also is a sore evil," says Solomon, "that in all points as he came so shall he go: and

what profit hath he that hath labored for the wind? Consider the work of God. Who can make that straight which he hath made crooked." If the North can straighten the crookedness of the negro, we willingly tender them the task. According to my judgment neither time nor money can effect this change, but "The law of the wise is a fountain of life to depart from the snares of death. Wherefore, I perceive that there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works, for that is his portion: for who shall bring him to see what is after him?"

Our Northern friends may call the separation of the races prejudice, if they so desire, but the wall of partition will stand, and I expect this wall will increase in height as the years roll on, with the young generation of negroes making such progress in the advanced ideas that they are as "good as any of the white race."

When the Confederate soldier took the oath of allegiance to the government of the United States, this oath did not subject him to negro rule. Neither will he nor his children submit to such rule; therefore the politics of the South will remain in the same hands as at present.

The crushed and bleeding South threw off disgraceful negro rule, inaugurated and enforced by the big brain of Thad Stevens, one of the greatest men of the day.

It is unreasonable to believe that if the South, crushed as it was, could come from under the black rule as headed by Mr. Stevens, that we will continue to rule and preserve Anglo-Saxon civilization, call it prejudice or what you may.

It is an established fact that of all masters, the naturally servile are the most cruel. "The earth," says Solomon, "cannot bear a servant when he reigneth." The brief period of authority exercised by the negro during the reconstruction era instilled in his heart the idea that if he can get an education this authority will return to him, but he will never pass that way but once in this part of the country.

Changes have taken place in Heaven as well as in earth, and are recorded in the Word of God. When Lucifer, the great bearer of light, himself was free, he sought to be equal with God, and hence was cursed and cast out of Heaven. Then, "by devilish art," he reached "the organs of man's fancy," and with them forged

the grand illusion that equality alone was freedom. Since then the devil has been advancing his scheme of equality by labeling it liberty.

The Southern negro is free to enjoy life, liberty, and to accumulate property, but he will never be free to rule the Southern white man, nor will he ever be accepted as an equal. Freedom and equality are different things. When he loses sight of the idea that he is the white man's equal, and resolves to work for his living, all will be well; peace and harmony will reign, and so-called race prejudice will fade away, giving place to the divine law of race distinction.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEGRO A SYCOPHANT

OF the five distinct races of the earth, the black race carries more sycophancy in its nature than the other four combined. It is his very existence and his first knock for admittance into the good graces of the South.

He will tell you that he is not like white folks, that he knows that he is a negro, and that he tells the other negroes when they talk about being just as good as any white person, that they are not. He asserts that he loves white folks and will stick to them at all times, for they are the people who help him.

After making this talk to a white man, this same negro will go to a meeting at night and join in abuse of the whites by stating that he works for white people because he cannot help himself. He says that he is cheated out of his wages by the crafty white man.

The principal and the professor in a negro college will in a public speech tell

their race to stand by the white people, who are their best friends. At the same time their hearts are full of hatred for the whites, and in private they are teaching that the negro race is equal to the white race, and that, as they rise in the world, they must assert their rights, which are the rights of a superior people. The same professor will represent to the white people that he is doing a great work for the uplifting and betterment of his race and brethren.

The negro has always been a race of sycophants, although we had in slavery a minority that were as loyal and true to us as one human being could be to another. We still have a few of this type, but in the race as a whole, sycophancy has reached a high state of cultivation. This being the case, we cannot trust them as in the days gone by.

The negro will sometimes remain with one family for several years, receiving the benefit of the white man's substance. During this time he will often go to a neighbor and relate the most damaging stories concerning the family of his benefactor. We call this "nigger news," and give it very little credence.

Negroes cannot disguise their countenances as white people do. An intelligent and observant white person, well acquainted with the negro nature, can tell from their countenances when they are plotting mischief or have committed some crime. In the face of this fact, the Southern whites very often fall victims to the negro sycophant, who gains their sympathy and favor by apparent faithfulness, causing them to relax their vigilance, and often resulting in outrage and murder. You will be told about negroes who are stealing from you when very often it is the informer himself who is the thief.

The negro, when arraigned at the bar of justice, will, if possible, shift his crime upon others of his race in order to clear himself. He can tell a very plausible tale in declaring his innocence. He considers his race blameless unless it serves his purpose to cast blame upon others to clear himself.

The Southern whites are easy victims of the negro's deceit. A great many plantations in the old South stand to-day as wrecks, and are owned by syndicates, a condition caused by the negro sycophant whom the former owner adhered to, and

supported until his plantation and negroes were swept away.

The negro will get his living from a white man as long as he can, and when the living gives out, he will say, as a reason for his not owning property, that the white man cheated him out of what he earned. I do not mean to say that he gives this reason to the Southern white man. No, indeed! He tells him, "Dat sho wuz a good man I worked fur! I never did ask him for anythin' but what I got it." He proceeds to work the same scheme on his new master. There are of course exceptions to this rule, as cases have been known where the ex-slave worked and supported his master with all the devotion of one human being to another. I am speaking of the race as a whole, as it exists at the present day.

There are exceptions in those of the blacks who advise members of their race to stick to the Southern white man, "because he is their best friend." I beleive some of them mean this, and that this advice comes from the heart of the few who are really concerned in the welfare of their race.

Such advice, however, finds few followers, because the Southern white man is a

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Democrat, and political recognition is the goal of the negro's ambition. He thinks that the future of the race depends upon politics, and that politics has in store for him a great future of independence and authority, with a life of ease.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BROKEN LINK

THE link binding together the races in the South is broken, but not altogether destroyed. The breach widens with time, regardless of the views of the optimists of both races. This is a sad condition, but it exists in our fair Southland, with no apparent remedy in sight. While emancipation did not break this link, it made it possible for the Union League to do its deadly work, thereby inflicting a wound which time cannot heal. This wound, being of long standing, has taken on a cancerous form that is eating at the vital organs of our civilization, and all that is high and holy.

Race hatred reigns supreme, a fact which brings to mind what the Master said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand, and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad." The two races are certainly divided, and it remains to be seen which one "scattereth abroad."

The negroes array themselves against the whites on all questions, until they need aid and protection. I think that the negro race contains the greater part of this race hatred. They hate us for the institution of slavery which gave us the right to hold their ancestors as slaves; while with the white race it is the memory of the link which bound them in former days, which still lingers, causing them to have more patience with their black enemies of to-day.

That there should be antagonism is natural, since the two races belong to divisions of the human family most diverse in racial endowments and traditions. The great mistake was made in trying to place the inferior on the same plane of existence with the superior race. This is one of the impossibilities for man.

Before the war a charming unity, yet well-marked diversity, existed between the races. The efforts made to cast aside diverse racial qualities and traditions, thereby making the two races equal, failed, succeeding only in breaking the unity and peace existing between them.

The link is broken, but the white man's civilization is the house founded upon a

rock that has and will stand the storms of time, before which the house built upon the sands must fall. Through all ages the superior power of civilization has been in the hands of the white man.

The negro never becomes really a rational being, but he is God's creature, a sentient being, capable of suffering as well as of enjoyment, and is entitled to enjoy according to his capacity; but it belongs to the being of superior faculties to judge of the relations which shall exist between himself and the inferior, as they march together along the path of progress. This he must do conscientiously and according to the laws of God and man.

While changes and progression are the conditions of human affairs, the great fundamental laws of God, on which is based civilization, suffer no change. The negro remains in the South in a changed condition, less of a factor in human progress, and becoming more and more a menace to civilization. While this is true, it is also a fact that God will in due season enforce His laws according to His wisdom and justice toward the human race whether it meets our views or not.

The broken link includes race hatred,

antagonism, distrust, and alienation. The South has ever been generous, patient, and sympathetic with the negro. We have pity for his weakness, charity for his fault, and swift punishment for his brutality. It seems that neither punishment nor education affects his brute nature, for the brutality of the race has increased rather than decreased, and women and girls live a very unsafe life, a condition which bodes no good for the future.

Every lynching that takes place is a blot on Southern civilization; but "like begets like," and the negro brute will receive brutal treatment at the hands of the mob so long as he commits such crimes.

This is the saddest and most dangerous feature of the broken link. This one feature causes the clock of Christendom to stand still for a while, sending a silence through civilization, and it is the breaker against which the waves of prosperity beat. This condition cannot last because it is contrary to God's law.

In nine in every ten race riots or conflicts it is the negro who is the aggressor, and is invariably the greatest sufferer, but he loses sight of this fact when he desires to display the power of his race by mur-

dering and assaulting the whites. He becomes famous when the negro newspapers publish stories of his martyrdom, relating how he met death without a murmur, and went home to Heaven. Thus he leaves a place to be filled by another of his race with the same ideas of negro rights and aggrandizement. Yet we have a remnant of the race who realize that their greatest right in the South is the right to earn their bread—this is the element that keeps the broken link from being entirely destroyed.

The right to earn its bread lies at the heart of the welfare and standing of any race. As the race cultivates the idea of asserting its supposed rights, and endeavors to live without work, just so soon will they outlive their usefulness. Even the remnant of the "white man's burden" who are earning their own bread require coaxing with all the favors possible to persuade them to work, because they are poor, down-trodden negroes. They make no hesitation in telling you, "I am free as you is; I don't have to work."

This idea is becoming general with the race, causing the South to seek relief through immigration. If we are forced to turn the negro loose, what will be the

result? There is no doubt that the South is making an effort to free itself from this burden, which increases in weight with the years.

We have no legal contract binding us to support the negro ballot, and it seems to be the intention of a certain element to educate him that he may use the ballot with greater ease. The negro, however, is incapable of receiving the education and enlightenment which is offered him, and therefore his ballot is, and will remain, of little account in the South.

It seems to me that it is an injustice to the race for the Federal Government to persist in regulating his conduct by a system of laws made for the whites, and in no way suited for the peculiar mental qualities of the negro.

At the present in the South the only real function of the negro ballot is to furnish a bone of contention over which the two political parties wrangle. The Southern white man has long since learned that in order to have a decent government he must hold the reins of power.

In all countries or conditions of mankind, human affairs are controlled by the "law of force," and we find practically

all established rights, civil or social, rest on and are ultimately maintained by this "law of force." Therefore, the negro is forced, if he remains here, to live under the white man's government and in the white man's country.

This condition is right and just to both races, for the negro has no capacity to use his ballot for the welfare of his fellow-man. When he had control of the government of several Southern States, he exhibited to the country a sample of his ability to make and administer laws. He is no more capable of exercising his right of suffrage now than when the right was first placed in his hands. It was the uneducated, ante-bellum negro who did the voting at that time, and they were a much better, if not so well educated, class.

The new generation cast their votes with hearts full of hatred for the whites, and with dreams of the day when they will have a large voice in the governmental forces of the country—a dream which is bound to remain only a dream.

The white people of the North hold no higher estimate of the qualifications of the negro to hold office than do the people of the South; neither have the ballots of the

Northern white people shown a high estimate of colored statesmanship. The bonds of mutual understanding, trust, and devotion of other days no longer exist. We realize this condition with regret and sorrow for the race, because these people are not responsible for their condition; they are victims of the white man's sectional hate, commercial selfishness, envy, and jealousy. They were a happy and harmless race when the two political parties seized upon them, dragging them into politics. When the white man planted the negro in politics he planted a corrupt tree that has borne only corrupt fruit. Christ said that a good tree could not bring forth evil fruit; neither could a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Politics is not a part of the negro's calling, and he will never have a real voice in the governing forces of the white man's country. He has been used as a tool to drag down and humiliate the South, yet even as a tool he is not a success. He stands to-day on the brink of the precipice. Will he be returned to his proper place, or will he be engulfed in the waters beneath? This condition belongs, as does all the future, to God, who cursed the ne-

gro with servitude, and said: "A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." When God says that a thing shall be done, it will be done, sooner or later. This does not mean that the negro will ever again be owned by the white man, but that he will be returned to his normal position. It is far more satisfactory to the whites for the negro to be a hired servant, if he is worthy of his hire, but a worthless servant is an expensive annoyance not to be endured.

We have clung to past associations with a love tender and defensive; but dire necessity has compelled the South to grapple with the living present. Flushed with courage from the knowledge that the South has risen again in power, we should not allow past or present affairs to cloud our sight in dealing with the problems confronting us, but should wait on God's overruling power moving slowly in the work of progress.

If God gave us these people for their good and for our benefit, He will work it out according to His purpose. Who can thwart His designs? He can right the wrongs, heal the wounds, and unite the broken links that bind the two races together.

It is generally conceded that the negro is to stay in the South, also that conditions are bad and are getting worse. If he is to stay here, conditions will change. Who can tell? It may be that the cloud of race hatred and antagonism will change, revealing the silver lining of peace and harmony in our Southland, or, possibly, from this cloud will come a storm that will sweep the negro from the American continent.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT

WE are indebted to the vengeance of Thaddeus Stevens and his influence in the Congress of 1870 for the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, giving the negro the right to vote.

His right to vote was of short duration in the South. We have never abridged his right to the ballot on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but because of his inability to keep pace with the white man in voting. The negro never votes with good intentions toward the whites of the South, or of this Republic, but he votes with the hope of some day becoming the ruler of the white man.

The greatest bar to negro franchise is the poll tax amendment to the constitutions of several Southern States, which requires each voter to pay a poll tax. The negro dislikes to pay this tax. The fact that it is devoted to the increase of the

public school fund does not arouse in him any desire to pay it. The negro desires to be an honorary citizen of the United States, considering his race, color, and previous condition of servitude a passport to citizenship of the highest order.

Some claim that the placing of the ballot in the hands of the negro was a crime. It was, of course, an offense against morality and public welfare and decency; and I have always considered it a slur at the intelligence of the Southern people, and a fruitless effort to show how the negro could be lifted up, after suddenly emerging from so-called barbarism. The ballot has never uplifted him, or bettered his condition. The North, in thinking the negro could rule the politics of the South, underrated the mentality of the whites, and overrated the mentality of the negro. They used him, as men will sometimes use the vilest instruments, to accomplish their own purpose, led on by designing schemers. This is characteristic of any party that breaks away from the great acknowledged ties which bind civilized man in fellowship. They sought to keep the South down by means of the negro ballot.

The great mind and honest heart of

Charles Francis Adams gave expression to the following words: "The work done by those who were in political control at the close of the Civil War was work done in utter ignorance of ethnologic law, and total disregard of unalterable facts. Starting the movement wrong, it will be yet productive of incalculable injury to us. The negro, after emancipation, should not have been dealt with as a political equal, much less forced into a position of superiority; he should have been treated as a ward and dependent—firmly, but in a spirit of kindness and absolute justice. Practically impossible as a policy then, it is not less so now. At best, it is something which can only be slowly and tentatively approximated. . . . Equality results not from law, but exists because things are in essentials alike; and a political system which works admirably when applied to homogenous equals, results only in chaos when generalized into a nostrum to be administered universally. It has been markedly so of late with us."

These are wise words according to divine and human law. Solomon says in observation of public government: "When the righteous are in authority, the

people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn."

The South has suffered long and patiently under the laws put upon them by those in authority at the close of the Civil War, and the negro has been the greatest sufferer. If political equality is a crime, they have reaped the full benefit of the criminal process, and are to-day traveling a more downward course than their fathers started upon at the close of the war.

The race entertains the idea that their fathers lost control of the government through a lack of education, and that, if they obtain an education, political equality and power will return to them on a grander scale. This is the cause for the rapid laying down of the "shovel and the hoe," and the scramble for an education in the schools of the cities. "As a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is man that wandereth from his place," says Solomon. He says further: "The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead."

The ballot in the hands of the negro has led him far from the way of understand-

ing, and has also placed him in a condition which bodes evil to his race. He is made to understand only through fear of those in authority. Remove this restraint, and he will soon sink to the level of the brute.

Civilization is forced upon the negro; but even in a forced condition, with the advantages of an education, he has never made a very high mark as a freeman. I often ask myself this question: "How much longer will the farce of political and social equality be played to the Southern people?" The strange and ignorant course of political and social equality pursued by our Northern brethren in regard to the South has done more to embitter and alienate the two races than all the wreck, ruin, poverty, and suffering of the war resulting in emancipation. It is the nourishment on which sectional hate survives in the political world. This policy, pursued contrary to the natural civil and social rights of both races, has done more to retard the progress and prosperity of the negro than anything else; it has made him restless and dissatisfied with his condition and habitation; he moves from place to place in the hope of some day being avenged for the great injustice of

the Southern white man refusing to accept him as his political equal.

The white man and black man will never be successfully governed by the same laws any more than a child and a man can be controlled by the same rules; children and negroes are very much alike—each requires a governing hand in every detail.

The laws of nations applicable to the different races are radically different; why, then, should the American and Afro-American be governed by the same laws? Inequality is recognized by the most casual observer, and an influence and a superiority is accorded to the one which is denied to the other. Why not make this fact broad enough to extend over the Southland of this Republic?

The race that only partly fulfills its duties to civilization, the progress of society, and the laws of the country should and will remain in a subordinate position to the superior race.

The American government was founded by our forefathers upon moral truths and natural distinctions. It was founded a white man's government, and should remain strictly a white man's government.

The government in appointing negroes

to Federal positions in the South does not help its condition, but adds fuel to the flames of race hatred, already burning fiercely. The great majority appointed to such positions are pompous with a head swelled by education and a desire to display intelligence and authority. They sometimes display this by robbing the post-office to which they have been appointed postmasters.

An elevated position does not change the negro character, but gives him a chance to show himself, and to become a more troublesome factor in the South, where it is said he is destined to remain. Be this as it may, we recognize the fact that the Federalists are under obligation to the negro, and should use every effort to lift him up, because they fought for him that he might be placed on a higher plane of existence; they should endeavor to make him worth the cost of his freedom. In performing its duties to the black man, the government should not lose sight of the fact that the South is still in the Union, and that the white men of that section have rights that should be respected. If the Southern whites are to carry the white man's burden, they should be allowed to carry it to

suit themselves. Dictation from a distance serves only to add to its weight, and if it becomes too heavy, we may cast it aside.

Is negro suffrage founded on the great principles of political justice? He makes use of his ballot by voting against the Southern white man, on whom he must depend. He has very little at stake, and cares nothing for the consequences. His vote is for sale at a very low price, and has little to make it attractive even to the Southern Republicans. He does not vote with any idea of the great fundamental principles of government—this is beyond his comprehension. He has the right of suffrage, and makes use of it because the white folks do, becoming simply an imitator.

The South has long since swallowed the dose of negro suffrage, and it is to-day practically digested. It was a bitter dose at first for our negroes to vote against us; but we consider them under obligations to the Republican party, and hope they will remain in that party. It has lifted the negro from a position so lowly, to one so sublime, that I think he should fill it to the best of his ability.

CHAPTER XXI

ECHOES

IN the following statements made at the meeting of the Niagara movement—an organization for promoting the equality of the races—we have echoes which reflect the growing sentiments of the race. The Niagara organization meets annually to pay tribute to the memory of John Brown, and at a recent meeting addresses upon John Brown were delivered by W. T. Dubois and Rev. Reverdy C. Ranson of Boston.

Ranson declared that God sent John Brown to Harper's Ferry "to become a traitor to the government in order that he might be true to the slaves." In discussing the political rights of the negro, he said: "The present occupant of the White House has been absolutely silent on the question of the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, while the Secretary of War has admitted the violation of the Constitution. The President has re-

cently, in a noted address, condoned, if not tacitly indorsed, this violation. Secretary Taft, speaking for the President, chides us by saying that the negroes are political children; that they have shown their incapacity to maintain their political rights. It is true that the negro has had a childlike faith in the Republican party, believing that it would administer the sacred trust which the fortunes of war and the Constitution had imposed upon it, and that it would not seize him like a gambler's stake in a game of politics. Thank God that at last the scales are falling from the negro's eyes. He is being disillusioned by the acts of the Republican Congress, the speeches of the members of a Republican cabinet, and the silence of a Republican President. He should not hesitate to repudiate his former friends who have betrayed him, nor refuse to fraternize with former enemies who are willing to give him aid. While he remains a political issue, he must insist upon making his power felt and his rights respected."

Reverdy C. Ranson is the same negro who was ejected from a Pullman car in Tennessee and forced to take a car regu-

larly provided for his race, after first making an effort to create the belief that he was a foreigner, then feigning deafness, and again refusing to obey the commands to vacate a seat in the white coach. He is the author of an address urging the intermarriage of the races in the South. Rev. R. C. Ranson was forbidden to address the negro students of the Alabama Colored Normal School because he presented himself in a state of intoxication. The Southern negroes politely, but firmly, led the drunken Northern negro from their educational institution and shut the door in his face.

In the following demands of the negroes of the Niagara movement at the close of the meeting, we have some very striking illustrations of their intelligence and truthfulness. At the conclusion of a sermon by Rev. G. Frazier Miller, an address to the country was read. It was in part as follows: "The men of Niagara, coming from the toil of a year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask, in the name of ten millions, the privilege of a hearing. Since last year the negro hater has flour-

ished in the land. Stripped of the verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness, the new American creed says: 'Fear to let the black men even try to rise, lest they become the equals of the whites.' In detail, our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote, goes everything—freedom, manhood, honor of our wives, the chastity of our daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to the liars who deny this. We want full manhood and suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth, and forever. Second, we want discrimination in public accommodations to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination. Third, we claim the right of freedom—to walk, talk, and be with those who wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege. Fourth, we want the laws enforced against the rich, as well as against the poor; against capitalist as well as laborer; against white as

well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, but we are more often arrested, convicted, and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no State allowed to base its franchise simply on color. The failure of the Republican party in Congress, at the sessions just closed, to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage at the South, seems a plain, deliberate, premeditated breach of promise and stamps that party as obtaining votes under false pretenses. Fifth, we want the national government to wipe out illiteracy in the South. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servant underlings or simply for the use of other people. These are some of the chief things that we want.

How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote; by persistent and unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work. We do not believe in violence, but we do believe in John Brown, and here, on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we consecrate ourselves, our honor, and our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

The address closed with an appeal to the young men and women of the nation and asks: "Cannot the nation that has absorbed 10,000,000 foreigners into its political life without catastrophe absorb 10,000,000 negro Americans into that same political life at less cost than their unjust and illegal exclusion will involve?" A resolution was adopted urging voters to question every candidate for Congress as to his attitude on the Fourteenth Amendment, and to refuse to support such as would not positively promise to support its enforcement.

I record the demands of these distinguished gentlemen that their echoes may go sounding down the corridors of time; that we may listen to the reverberations and watch the rays of light coming from

such a brilliant and distinguished people. Such demands from the negro show the designs and intentions of the most highly educated of the race. Will the supply meet the demand, or will it be "a voice wafted to an echoless shore"?

CHAPTER XXII

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

IN the forty years of persistent effort to educate the negro have we succeeded or have we failed? It seems that time has proven the latter. Be it as it may, we are proud to say that the South has divided her school fund equally with the colored people. In poverty and in prosperity she has freely given to their education.

Whatever the future may bring, we have chosen the better way. If it brings failure, it will also bring a clear conscience of having done our duty to these people. If we make an honest failure, God will accept the will for the deed and show us a way out of our present difficulties.

In surveying the present situation we can find the weak places in the road leading to the elevation of the race. The proper education of these people is a duty, and necessary to the progress of civilization.

It has been said that negro education

in the South should be along the lines of: "The rudiments of an education for all, industrial training for the many, and a college course for the talented few." These are words of wisdom, for the great majority of the race are only qualified for the rudiments of an education. Manual labor is their proper calling, and their ministers and teachers are of the talented few. As time reveals the ethnology of the negro, the intelligent people of this republic will recognize it, and act accordingly. We have different classes of the negro race in the South just as we have different classes of the white race in America.

There is one class who have sense enough to see their inferiority, and are peaceful, law-abiding citizens, respecting the rights of the white man who has due respect for their rights. This class holds a position in the industrial South by accepting industrial training. Another class, with a smattering of an education, are loafers and crap-shooters. To this class belongs the greater part of the criminal element. A third class obtains education enough to destroy their usefulness, and includes the forgers, burglars, and

expert thieves of the race. The fourth class includes so-called educated ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and newspaper men, who are supposed leaders. This class comprises some of the meanest and most vicious of the race; while they are of "the talented few" mentally, education has not changed their character or nature, but has made them a more dangerous factor to the welfare of both races.

Generally speaking, these negro preachers enter the ministry and politics at the same time. They seem to have a mania for being prominent in conventions and in public meetings, and of indulging in impassioned and vicious denunciation of the Southern whites. They never consider what effect their incendiary course may have upon their race, for they almost totally lack reflective faculties.

The chief object of the educated class is to so display their gifts and graces that they may demand a good price in politics, and thereby make themselves great leaders of their people. A few negro ministers, who preach a gospel of peace and of good will to their race, are exceptions.

After forty years of negro education

we have only one and one-tenth per cent. in the professions; these statistics show their small capacity for higher education. The negro himself realizes this fact; if his family is sick, he calls a white physician to attend them, and nine times out of ten he employs a white lawyer when trouble overtakes him.

The negro is the most inferior type of the human race. He has a limited intellect and a very inferior moral organization, and we have made the mistake of trying to educate him by methods established for the whites; by so doing we have given him vague aspirations and led him to make vain struggles.

The half or three-fourths white have a superior mentality to that of the black race, and the typical negroes themselves are more or less superior or inferior to one another precisely as they approximate to, or recede from, the typical standard.

Our Northern brethren have made a greater mistake in negro education than we, because they have expended their millions on him, thinking that he was a white man in a negro's skin. We have pursued the same course, but with a different idea. While we doubted his men-

tality, we gave him the benefit of the doubt by giving him education according to the white man's standard.

We find among the ten millions of the race a few highly educated mulattoes, or rather, the great majority of the few highly educated are half white. It seems to me wrong to establish a system of education for a few mulattoes while the great majority have no capacity for receiving it. This is a sacrifice of the many for the benefit of the few. Our duty is to the real negro, and we cannot judge him by the mulatto standard. The white blood enables the mulatto to climb a notch or two higher than his black brother; therefore the real black man should receive our attention and we should educate him according to his capacity and endowments; give him an industrial training, with but the rudiments of an education. I do not mean to have a school labeled "industrial," in which the greater part of the time is devoted to the higher education for which he has no capacity, but give him a real industrial training. Teach him to work, to read, and to write. The talented few who wish to finish their education can attend the colleges of the North and

receive the higher instruction which the negro professors of the South are not capable of imparting.

The fact that we have wrongly educated the negro broadens, deepens, and becomes more entangled as the years pass by. The intention has been to change his character by education. This has utterly failed, for nothing but the religion of Jesus Christ will change a man's character, whether he be of the white or black race.

While illiteracy has been reduced to fifty-two per cent., crime has increased. Statistics show negro crime to be proportionally greater in the North than in the South. In the North he attends school with the whites, has the same teachers, and has the same opportunities to acquire knowledge, but negro crime is proportionally greater. In the State of Pennsylvania, while the negroes form only two per cent. of the population, they furnish sixteen per cent. of the male prisoners and thirty-four per cent. of the female. In Chicago, where the negroes form only one and one-half per cent. of the population, they form ten per cent. of the criminals.

Public talk about the ignorant negro being the criminal of the race is false. Such talk is only a plea in soliciting the white man's money for negro education.

Criminality strikes deeper than ignorance. Some of the best darkies whom I have known were the most ignorant. Criminality exists in the white and in the black race from the same causes, and no amount of education will change the character of the naturally criminal class, white or black; it simply aids the criminal in his craft.

The black race, generally speaking, is lazy and thriftless; an education is sought in the hope of never more having "to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows," and, as the devil finds work for idle hands to do, crime increases among them.

Booker Washington says: "I have no hesitation in saying that one of the elements in our present situation which gives me most concern is the large number of crimes that are being committed by members of our race. The negro race is committing too much crime, North and South. We should see to it as far as our influence extends that crimes are fewer in number; otherwise, the race will suffer

permanently." Booker Washington has been asleep at his post, and the increasing criminality of his race is a foregone conclusion.

The elevation of the negro by education is one of the greatest humbugs ever held up to the American people. The best element of the race and the happiest and most contented is the uneducated negro farmer of the South. This is the prosperous element. We find that one hundred and fifty thousand own their farms, and that ninety per cent. of the property owned by the negroes is possessed by the uneducated ante-bellum negroes.

This class, in its endowments and attainments, represents the natural and normal capacity of the negro. They hold out the brightest hope to their people and for the progress of civilization.

No man can rise above his capacity, and the capacities of the white and black are as different as their color. No human race or governmental changes can ever obliterate this difference. God gave the negro a servile capacity, mentally, morally, and physically, and he should be educated accordingly.

Since the existence of man there has

been a servile race, which has furnished the base of civilization, and neither in ancient nor modern times has civilization been attained by any nation, except in this way. There has been no change in human types during the historic ages. The paintings upon the old Egyptian monuments show that at the very dawn of history the various races were as distinctly marked as at the present time, each bearing their racial badge of color and physiognomy. In prehistoric ages the superior races subjugated the inferior, and gave to them their language and civilization. God designed the various social divisions of the human race, from those requiring but the lowest degree of intellectual power, to those requiring the very highest, and the natural endowments of every class have been apportioned according to this divine design.

Not for a moment do I think that education can thwart God's purposes for the negro, in subjecting him to the service of the white man; but I do think that it is a waste of money to try to educate him contrary to his destined capacity and by a method that makes him less worthy. It is a great injustice to the race,

In reflecting upon the present condition of the negro, it seems as if God is permitting him to reveal himself to the doubting Thomases of the North, and I believe that he will yet come to be known there as he is known here. When the North comes to know the negro, the two sections will unite upon the plan of education for which he is best adapted, and will educate him within the limits of his intellect and destiny. If the negro does not like this method, he will have the privilege of educating himself. So long as the white man pays for the negro's education he should have the privilege of selecting the methods to be followed. I do not think the South should be dependent upon the ethnological opinions held by the North concerning the negro and his education, but a better and more complete method could prevail were the two sections united. To be sure, the Northern people have expended more than four times the amount spent by the Southern people for negro education, but if the negro is to have a permanent home in the South, he must be educated to suit the South and its conditions.

The only permanent position open to

the negro is that of a laborer in the industrial South. Any system of education that tends to make him worthless as a laborer, or excites vain hopes in his breast, is detrimental to his welfare, and the welfare of the nation. He who doubts that a literary education is the undoing of the black man has but to wait, and time will prove it. It leads him into green pastures of imagination, where he rests on flowery beds of ease for the morn of his established rights. You have but to read the utterances of the educated negro to see how far he is carried by imagination and conceit.

If the present system of education which is making him worthless as a laborer is continued, he must move out and give place to foreign labor. This condition is slowly but surely approaching.

Another phase of the present situation is the negro's increased viciousness, and the time may come when forbearance will cease to be a virtue.

In all times and in all conditions of the world there has been a people possessing nothing except the capacity to labor, and it is reasonable to believe that the South, with her undeveloped resources, will seek

and find the required class of laboring people. I know that we can get a more reliable and better class of labor, but our duty to the negro is to do the best we can for him. We should give him an industrial training with only the rudiments of a literary education, and if this fails, then let him depart from us.

A change must come over the negro's ambition, or he will become more troublesome as the years roll on. No human being can be content who does not perform the duties of his own station, and we should educate him according to his mentality, and train him to perform the duties of the station in which an all-wise Providence has placed him, or we must face the consequences of a wrongly applied usefulness.

Colonel Robert Gates, in an address on immigration, discussed the economical side of the question and said: "The labor system in the South is growing more and more unsatisfactory, while the demand is increasing from year to year. The situation is already serious, and threatens to become more aggravated before any remedy is applied. Several causes have produced this result. Education among the

negroes, the South's main reliance for labor, is for the present, at least, suggesting vain hopes and perilous dreams, swelling the numbers of agitators and the idle, sowing wider and wider the seed of unrest, and inspiring the dire spirit of revenge, instead of the wholesome spirit of emulation. But we need not hope to modify this educational phase soon, at least, for it amounts to a craze and must run its course, intensifying the evils it would remove. Misdirected philanthropy, racial perverts, religious fanatics, and battalions of cranks and knaves South as well as North, but mostly North, will not let common sense and the teaching of history prevail in this matter.

"Holding education to be the sovereign cure-all for political, racial, moral, and social ills, and the one miraculous power on earth to equalize the inherently unequal, they will continue to exploit it without discrimination and in defiance of experience until the inevitable climax of conflict comes. And then reaction on sane lines, let us hope."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO

TIME seems to have turned backward in its flight regarding the South and the negro. It seems to tell us that we have for forty years made vain efforts and a fruitless struggle to uplift the free negro, and that we must start again. The trouble in making a new start is that it must be made by the new generation of whites with the new generation of negroes.

The beginning, forty years ago, contained the sacred memories and material of the old South. The Southern whites of that time held the memory of "black mammy" and other faithful slaves very dear, but these memories have passed during the rapid flight of time, and the Southern whites of to-day know nothing of those days or their memories, and the virtues of the institution are dead to the race. History, in repeating itself, has brought America to face England's experience regarding the negro race.

Great Britain, after emancipating the slaves, for years made strong efforts to make the negro a fit subject of the kingdom, and utterly failed. No government has ever been able to make the negro the civil and social equal of the white man.

In every country where civil and social equality has been tried, time has proved it to be impolitic and dangerous. We, to-day, face the repetition of history as regards this policy and the negro race. Be this as it may, the South has, through the years that have passed, clung to the negro. After the storm of battle cleared away, leaving poverty and desolation in its path, the Southern people began life over with the negro, under changed conditions.

Cast down, but not destroyed, the Confederate soldier resolved to rise again and to take the negro with him in the struggle. After the farce of reconstruction was over, the ante-bellum darky was willing and able to return to his white people, and they were just as gladly received. Therefore the two races put their shoulders to the wheel of progress, rebuilding the new South from the historic old South, and be it said to the credit of

the ante-bellum negro that he never loosened his hold upon the task, or from his people. After realizing the path of freedom was not all sunshine, he was satisfied to live and die among his people of the South.

The vast majority of ante-bellum negroes were never alienated from the Southern people, but were led away by the impulse of the moment. Those who joined the Federal army and when the war returned to the South to discontinue their pension and spend it there.

The ante-bellum darky and his children, who grew up immediately after slavery, have been a very important factor in the rebuilding of the South, and many of this type living to-day serve as a strong force or influence in keeping down the young generation of the race.

The grandest testimony of our treatment of the negro is demonstrated by the fact that the great bulk of the race remained in the South. If they are treated, they seem to like it, and prefer to live under such treatment.

Some Southern negroes attend conventions and associations in the North and tell how the South "keeps the negro

for fear that he will rise and leave the white man behind"; but we know that they talk to suit their audiences, and that they like to be kept down, as is shown by the fact that the majority of the race stay in the South. These same negroes, who make use of such speech at negro conventions in the North, have more respect for the Southern white man and more confidence in what he says than they have in their Northern friends. The negro is childlike, and respects those who make him respect them; he believes that if there must be sycophancy in the game, he prefers to be the sycophant.

Though he is arrayed against us, he readily adapts himself to circumstances, becomes very tractable upon short notice, and as the day of adversity approaches, he gladly turns to the people of the South, whom he forgot in the days of prosperity.

The negro being "half child and half animal," can be easily controlled, if you understand the method. I believe this to be the strongest point in the salvation of the negro, because the Master said: "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the King-

dom of Heaven." Of course, the negro steals, commits adultery, and bears false witness, but he has a faith in God that is beautiful. The Book says: "Where there is not much given, there is not much required." And this is another point in his favor. The Southern people give as little notice as possible to negro thefts. If we arrest every negro who steals, it will bankrupt the Southern States to furnish penitentiaries to hold them; therefore we punish only those who steal the largest amounts. If the original is the son or daughter of a faithful ex-slave, the white man will stick to him as long as possible, and very often succeed in keeping him out of the penitentiary.

Generally speaking, the Southern people are charitable to his faults and have great patience with him so long as he shows any inclination to do right. Those who hate the negro are the people who never owned slaves, and who really know nothing about him, good or bad. We have a great many of this class who were born and reared in what is called the "hill country" of the Southern States.

After the war, when the negroes were basking in the sunshine of freedom, they

called the Southern people "poor white trash," but we never blamed them; we were poor, but we were aware that there were no people on earth who knew so well as the negro did that we were not "trash," but superior under all conditions.

The ante-bellum negro and the Southern whites soon forgot this episode and united on the meat-and-bread question—helping each other to gain a livelihood. The negro's part in the prosperity and progress of the South has been in the production of cotton. Until recent years he was the sole producer of the fleecy staple. The passing of the old-time darky accounts for the disappearance of the negro as a laborer in the cotton field.

In developing the resources of the Southland the negro has no part. In the factories and in the coal mines he is almost an unknown quantity. White children work in the factories, while the negro children attend school.

The South to-day enjoys a system of white slavery that far exceeds the African slavery of the past. We now have the white slavery which the North so long enjoyed.

The South has been blind to the rights

of the white child for forty years, and has been more than just to the negro. In our generosity to the weaker people we should not lose sight of our own race, the race upon which depends the future greatness of this Republic.

I think that the time has arrived for the white people to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." We have, in the successful effort to rise again, made a strong attempt to take the negro with us in the struggle, and have left the white children of the backwoods to their fate—a life of ignorance, poverty, and want, with no future but that of slavery in the factory. This is the condition of the whites of the backwoods of the South. They are a people with as pure Anglo-Saxon blood as ever coursed the veins of mortal man. Though they may live in poverty, ignorance, obscurity, and neglect, yet their ancestry was of the best, such as English Puritans, Scotch Covenanters, and French Huguenots—unrecognized but nevertheless genuine lineage. Men of these backwoods districts fought with honor on both sides during the Civil War. The condition of these people is to-day a

stain upon the South which it will be difficult to erase.

We have for forty years expended our money for the education of the negro, and allowed our own flesh and blood to grow up in ignorance. The race that God made to rule, and the negro to serve, we have neglected. There is a class of Southerners who have more religion than sense, where the negro is concerned, and in appropriating money for educational purposes they very often give the negro the greater appropriation. This may be religion, but the Book says: "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

There is another class who worship the God of Mammon, and must stand with the negro, in order to get a position upon his recommendation. Shades of their ancestors! You must look down in disgust on such a condition!

There is still a third class who "strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel." From this class came the loudest howl when President Roosevelt was reported to have dined with Booker Washington; they "swallow the camel" when they invite

Booker to address conferences and students of Southern colleges.

The cloud of ignorance which we have allowed to rise in the backwoods of the South will face us in the future.

In the sowing of seed we have sown upon stony ground, "where they had not much earth; and when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away."

Our generous endeavors to benefit the negro is seed sown upon stony places, with the young generation of the race, consequently we are to-day reaping the withered harvest. The humble docility of the ante-bellum negro, and his spirit to make amends for his wrong acts, has passed away in the new generation. Their animal nature seems to have overcome the child nature, which has been one of the redeeming features of the race.

The increase in crime seems to be the adopted method by which they intend to assert their supposed rights. The Northern negroes have gathered at a feast like unto the feast of Belshazzar, and are drunk on the wine of social equality and negro rights, and their drunken revelry has taken root in the South, thereby caus-

ing some very fiendish crimes, which lead the Southern white man to cast aside civilization and engage with the mob. This is a blot upon the so-called new South and a disgrace to the aristocratic old South. Such is the present condition, and this is the disturbing element to the thousands of good negroes; they think when one of their color is held responsible for a crime, that the white people hate the whole race.

These people have some very strange ideas which no amount of education will remove. It makes no difference how fiendish the crime; if the criminal is forced to pay the penalty of his crime, the colored people will talk about how "white people hate niggers." The criminal is always a martyr. Still, you often hear the old-time darky make use of the expression, "I don't know what our race is coming to." These old darkies are often forced to spend the savings of a lifetime to keep their educated children out of the penitentiary.

While the South has clung to the colored people with a feeling that is divine, it is a fact that the years have loosened the tie as we have in sadness watched them outlive their usefulness. The negro's

strongest hold upon the South is his natural ability in the production of cotton, and when he ceases to be a producer of cotton, he ceases to be a real factor there. Time records the fact that he has turned his back upon the cotton fields, and the planter is being forced to seek new labor. As change and progress is the natural trend of human affairs, this condition will find a remedy. May He who holds the destinies of men apply the remedy according to His purpose.

III
THE FUTURE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CHAPTER XXIV

SHADOWS CAST BEFORE

No one knows what the future will bring, but we can anticipate the future by the past and present, basing our predictions upon the theory that "coming events cast their shadows before."

While the negro problem is a national problem, it is also intensely a Southern problem. The South, with its great possible future, has the negro clinging to her in a more worthless condition than at any previous time. This is the shadow cast upon her possibilities.

The bonds of mutual understanding and trust that once bound the two races have passed away, giving place to intensified alienation, which presents a dangerous phase and shows the necessity of both races preserving their sanity in dealing with the problems that face them—problems of even greater importance—if that be possible—to the negro than to the white man; for upon their right solu-

tion depends his weal or woe, life or death. The race is yet to face its real condition. When the ante-bellum darky has passed to the reward of a faithful servant, the new generation will face the condition as it really exists, and, judging from the demonstrations made by some of their educated leaders, we can see the shadows of the coming events.

One of the gloomiest features is the negro's growing desire to live without work. When he deserts the plantation he sells his birthright for a mess of pottage, and when a better class of labor takes his place he cannot retrace his steps.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the South will furnish homes and a living to a worthless people? No, indeed! There is no law forcing a people to support a worthless population, and if the negro does arrive at the point of utter worthlessness, he will be cast aside, just as an old worn-out garment is cast aside for a more useful one.

He who doubts that the South is gradually pushing the negro aside for a more efficient class of labor has only to come to the South and see for himself. This condition is not hailed with delight by the

Southern people, but is realized with sadness; though sentiment is swallowed up by the force of the condition, it is nevertheless sad.

Looking upon the present changed condition of the negro, I believe that places which now know him will in the future know him no more; for after leaving the plantation he never returns as a laborer in the fields.

Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte, in making a speech of welcome to the Young People's Negro Congress, which convened in Washington, discussed the future of the negro race in America. "You cannot afford to be lazy, ignorant, and vicious," said he, "for all around you, on every side, is a race with which you will have to compete, whether you wish or not, and which it will tax all of your energies to struggle against. There is no room in America for people who can't take care of themselves. I am one of those who feel strongly the repeated injustice and frequent perfidy which have marked our treatment of the Indians; but, after all has been said, the Indian would not or could not, at all events did not, learn to work in competition with the white man,

and they have been pushed to the wall and crushed against it. You must either share their fate or profit by their example. You can't in this country rest and be thankful, for if you try to do this you will soon have nothing for which to be thankful. The idle, sensual, and benighted are never really free, and America now is a country for free men only."

Mr. Bonaparte said that the man who speaks with assurance about the future of the race is not worth listening to, and that he wished to call attention to two features of the situation which gave ground to a reasonable hope as to what was to be. "The first," he continued, "is the undoubted fact that the negro is the only race that has ever been able to live with white people, both races increasing and prospering on a large scale. Transplanting the black race to this continent has strengthened instead of weakened it. The other thing to which I would direct your attention is that you can't get rid of the white people. You can neither get away from them nor drive them away from you. To cut black people off from white people, whether by law or by natural causes, cuts them off at the same time

from the only real and certain improvement of themselves."

The words of Secretary Bonaparte reveal several shadows of to-day, cast across the future of the negro in America. The negro is naturally lazy and is becoming more and more vicious, and he is entirely dependent upon the whites. He is being pushed to the wall because of his inability to accept present opportunities without the law of force and he has no capacity to profit by example.

Mr. Bonaparte said: "The idle and sensual and benighted are never really free." Very true, and the negro will never really be free, because God never made him to be free. Idleness and sensuality dominate his very nature, and he has a natural tendency to retrogression when left to himself, and must depend upon the white man.

Talk to the negro about getting a home and being independent and your words are wasted; it is like pouring water upon a duck's back and expecting the duck to swim on the ground.

Booker Washington says: "The real work of the negro in America is just beginning." This may be true, and it may

be as far fetched as the assertion that the negro has, during the forty years of freedom, made more progress than the Latins in a thousand years. It is but natural for Booker not to see the impending shadows of the negro's future. It is worth a great deal to him in more ways than as a mere advertisement of negro progress, while to us it is cheap and without promise. Booker Washington has done a great educational work for his people, but he has not succeeded in changing the negro character, or in bringing out any power of development in the race. He has succeeded in teaching them: "Seek ye first education, and all rights will soon be added unto you in this country." In the South the negro is certainly seeking an education, whether the supposed rights will ever be added or not. From the present indications, I would suppose the time not far distant when the negro will have nothing to do but to attend school, and the white people of the North may find themselves taxed to support a penniless and worthless population.

I believe that the colored population will some day be entirely penniless, because ninety per cent. of all property

owned by the negroes is in the hands of the ante-bellum negroes, and these old darkies must soon pass away, leaving this property to their children, who, having a smattering of education, have outlived work, dress finely, and travel over the country until their property is gone, and then often bring up in the penitentiary.

The new negro has degenerated from the type of his fathers to such an extent that more than nine-tenths of the colored convicts in the penitentiaries of the South have grown up since slavery.

Race riots and conflicts are shadows upon the negro's future which grow darker with time. Of course, the whites suffer to a certain extent during these riots, often two or three white men losing their lives, while a great many negroes are killed. The dangerous feature of this condition is that these riots may result in so much bloodshed, final solution of the problem will be reached and few negroes be left to tell the tale. May this never occur; but judging from the past and the present, we have every reason to believe that it may. With the educated members of the race exciting by vicious and incendiary speech, and instructing their

brethren to assert their supposed rights, we can see the shadows very plainly.

The negro has never made much headway in asserting his imaginary rights in the South; but he never profits by the example of those gone before, and occasionally wanders in the land of dreams far enough to make a slight demonstration of these "rights." Whatever may come, I have confidence in the people of my blood, to believe that they will deal as justly with the negro in the future as they have in the past, waiting on God's overrule. If the negro is crushed beneath the wheels of progress, it will be the work of his own hands. Paul tells us: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." In obeying this teaching, we will also heed the call of duty to the Anglo-Saxon race or the preservation of Anglo-Saxon civilization at any cost. Those who do not want the negro to be ruled by the Southern white man can remedy the evil by taking him unto themselves. "Who art thou that judgeth another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand."—*Romans*.

CHAPTER XXV

COLONIZATION

IN the future the self-interests of the American people may assert themselves, and the misguided negro may have to read, written on the walls of iniquity, "Colonization of the negro race." Whether this be right or wrong, it may be a forced condition, and justice is invariably swallowed up when power rules; neither does right always prevail.

Colonization of the black race would be a repetition of history. England, after emancipating the negro, found relief through colonization, but I doubt if the Americans have the ability of the English to unload such a burden.

On the 22d of May, 1772, it was pronounced unlawful to hold a slave in Great Britain. Many English families possessed slaves, and by this decision the negroes were thrown upon their resources. Memoirs of Granville Sharpe tell us that the blacks—"Indigent, unemployed, despised, forlorn, and vicious—became such

a nuisance as to make it necessary that they should be sent somewhere, and no longer suffered to infest the streets of London. The government, anxious to remove what it regarded as injurious, supplied the means of their transportation and support. In April, 1787, these people were put on shipboard bound for Africa and were landed in Sierra Leone."

Of course, the number of England's negroes transported at that time does not compare with the nine and a half million in America, but it seems that this nine and a half million in our country are fast reaching the condition of those thus transported in 1772. In 1833 an English military officer thus wrote: "There is a settlement of negroes a few miles from Halifax, Nova Scotia, at Hammond's Plains. Anyone would have imagined that the government would have taken warning from the trouble and expense it incurred by granting protection to those who emigrated from the States during the Revolution, 1200 of whom were removed to Sierra Leone in 1792 by their own request. Again, when 600 of the insurgent negroes—the Maroons of Jamaica—were transported to Nova Scotia in 1796, and

received every possible encouragement to become good subjects, by being granted a settlement at Preston, and being employed upon the fortifications of Halifax; yet they, too, soon become discontented, and, being unwilling to earn a livelihood by labor, were in 1800 removed to the same colony, after costing the island of Jamaica more than \$225,000 and a large additional expense to the province, that is, Nova Scotia. Notwithstanding which, when the runaway slaves were received on board the fleet off the Chesapeake during the late war, permission was granted them to form a settlement at Hammond's Plains, where the same system of discontent arose—many of the settlers professing that they preferred their former well-fed life of slavery, in a more congenial climate, and, earnestly petitioning to be removed, were sent to Trinidad in 1821. Some few of these who remained are good servants and farmers, disposing of the produce of their lands in the Halifax market; but the majority are idle, roving, and dirty vagabonds."

Such was the condition of the free negroes in the British colonies in 1833, and such is their condition in the South to-day.

This was England's plan of removing a people, who were a public burden, to a place where they could be self-supporting; but instead of becoming self-supporting these negroes relapsed into barbarism.

The large plantations of the West Indian colonists were abandoned, and misery, ruin, decay, and death soon took the place on the once flourishing and productive estates. The land grew up to bushes, and deserted mansions marked the place of the once prosperous planter of the West Indies.

I fail to see the wisdom in the idea that we can accomplish, by the colonization of the negro race, that which Great Britain failed to achieve. Colonization of the negro means casting him off to wallow in the mire of his native barbarism.

"The white man's burden" in America to-day rests entirely upon the Southern people, but the time may come when the responsibility will rest with the people of the North, who may be the first to cry "enough of the poor, downtrodden negro." The increasing migration of the negroes to the North shows an inclination of the new generation to change their abiding places. This may be God's means

of letting the North see the negro face to face. It is a fact that the North desires the negro to stay in the South, and if this migration to the North continues, it may occasion a call for colonization. Not that I think colonization would be right; no, indeed; it would be unjust, unchristian, un-American, and a crime, because the negro, to remain a human being, and to be subservient to human use, must remain with the white man.

The greatest barrier to colonization would be the enormous cost of transportation, and the financial features would be the first consulted, because money rules all great questions and conditions of this day and time. This is my reason for thinking that the final solution of the negro problem is not far distant. When the whites find the negro to be a public burden of great cost they will soon find a relief from this burden, and I believe the time is near when he will become a public burden, regardless of his supposed progress.

Mr. Jefferson favored colonization, because he had an insight of the present day; he could see that the negro would be free, and, understanding the negro character, he did not believe that the two races could

live together in peace and harmony with the negro a free man. Mr. Jefferson considered the African inferior in both body and mind to the white man, and while expressing his hostility to slavery, vehemently he avowed the opinion that it was impossible for the two races to live equally free under the same government; that "Nature, habit, and opinion had drawn indelible lines of distinction between them"; that accordingly emancipation and deportation (colonization) should go hand in hand; that these processes should be gradual enough to make proper provisions for the blacks in a new country, and fill their places in this with free white labor.

Mr. Jefferson's belief in colonization of the black man does not make it right. Of course, if the negro had been colonized when emancipated, it would have been a fine thing for the whites of this Republic, but a very bad thing for the colored people. If he had been sent back to Africa when freed, he would have shared the fate of Africa to-day. Africa is fast becoming a white man's country and the negro will be pushed out, or the white man will rule over him in his own house.

Charles Francis Adams, after a trip to Africa, says: "The African will at last find his place in civilization, whatever that place may prove to be. In the Soudan and Nile basin he will not be brought, as in our Southern States, into industrial conflict with the white man. If he meets with any competitor, it will be the imported Asiatic—the Asiatic purposely imported to do what the African will not do, or cannot so well do. The native African of the Nile basin is now a savage; he herds cattle and cultivates the soil to a limited extent. He is distinguished from the brute creation only by the fact of articulate speech, the use of tools and weapons of the most primitive kind, and a knowledge of the properties of fire. In such matters as clothes, food, or sanitation he is in no essential respects better than various kinds of animals. A savage, he admits, like nearly all known negro savages, of an imitative domestication. Thus, in Africa, the simple question is as to how far he can be developed by external influences, and under altered conditions; for as yet he has evinced no self-elevating capacity.

"If Africa proper is now to be developed, and if the laboring white man will

not, because he cannot, make a home in it or in large portions of it, the field is open to the native. Can he occupy that field, and fill it, or must he, free from forced, regulated labor, languish and die out, like the American aboriginal, and the Australian? A large question; it is as interesting as its answer is obscure, as yet! Fortunately, its solution is in the best of hands, those of the British. Asiatic experience thus throws light on the African problem; and again, the problem working out in Africa is full of suggestions as respects America. One thing seems clear: without being reduced to servitude, the inferior race must be recognized as such, and, in some way, so dealt with. Facts are facts, and only confusion results when things essentially not equal are dealt with on the basis of natural equality.

“The world has now for some time been pondering the African problem—pondering it in America as well as in the place of its origin—it has been laying up a store of experiences bearing upon it—experiences stretching through at least 2000 years. The discovery of the Nile source was delayed to our time; in its turn that very now bids fair to involve the

future of the negro. The wild animals of Africa are to go; will the negro go with them? The alternative is domestication. That he will not go with the wild animals, our experience shows. That he is imitative has been proven. That he can ever become or be made self-elevating in the mass remains to be shown."

From what Mr. Adams says of conditions in Africa, we have no foundation on which to base colonization of the American negro in Africa, but it is possible to send them to the Philippines if they become too great a nuisance in America. It may be that the government bought those islands for a home for the negro at some future day. While I believe colonization of the negro race would be one of the greatest events that could come to the white people, I do not believe it will ever come to pass, because the final solution of the problem will be right, and colonization would be wrong. The negro has been forced to serve two masters, and has failed. The Master said: "No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other." Such has been the case with the negro, and I

think the time is at hand when the North must turn the negroes over entirely to the South, or the South must turn them over entirely to the North, because they have been the "bone of contention" long enough. Paul says: "Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."

I believe this condition can be reached without colonization, because the negro can be made to understand the course he is to pursue, and if let alone will very willingly follow this course. Another trouble is, he has been given too many instructions which he has no capacity to follow; therefore he lives in a confused condition for which he is not responsible. In the final adjustment of this problem the great Ruler of the Universe will take a hand, and the negro will find his proper place in America, whether it meets our views or not. Rev. Washington Gladden, of Ohio, discussed the negro problem and in part said: "The problem as it confronts us involves the principles on which our nation is founded. It is well stated in the words of Carl Schurz: 'There will be a movement, either in the direction of

reducing the negroes to a permanent condition of servitude, the condition of the mere plantation hand alongside the mule, practically without any rights of citizenship; or a movement in the direction of recognizing him as a citizen in the full sense of the term.' Such a movement as that described in the first alternative is now in full progress. In the South the conditions are rapidly becoming more unfavorable to the negro. The manifestos of Governor Vardaman, which some time will be indorsed by the people of the State, and the recent campaign in Georgia, in which the candidate who most unequivocally favored the repression of the negro was overwhelmingly elected, show the drift of opinion in that section. 'To keep four million in slavery who were born and reared in that condition was one thing; to reduce nine million to serfdom after they have been fifty years free is quite another thing.' Senator Tillman's prediction, that race struggles of a bitter nature are likely to be frequent and continuous in the future, is not without probability. I can see no other outcome of a strife of this nature but the segregation of the races.

"A portion of the Southern domain would have to be set apart for the blacks; we should probably have three or four States of which the population would be wholly composed of negroes, governing themselves and represented in Congress at Washington." (Yes, they would soon govern themselves in the way that they have in Africa for thousands of years.)

"The blacks would suffer by being thrown on their own resources in their poverty. It would take them several generations to work out the problem of civilization. To the whites, the property in which they are now rejoicing would suffer a severe, perhaps a deadly, blow. It is idiotic to talk of deporting the negroes to some other country; they are here, and here to stay, and their home will be in the southern portion of the United States."

It seems to me that the talk of deporting the negroes is not as idiotic as talk of setting apart three or four Southern States for them. These States may in the future be set apart for the negroes, but I think not until the last white man, woman, and child sleep beneath the soil of the said States, leaving the Southern mocking-bird to sing the dirge of a conquered people.

Then, and not until then, will the accursed posterity of Ham occupy three or four Southern States. It is a Christian duty to give the negro a home without bloodshed if possible. Why not set apart three or four Northern States? The South has furnished him a home through the centuries that have gone, and when it becomes necessary for him to change abode, the North should give him a home.

The negro is about as much of a citizen now as he will ever be, in the South or elsewhere, and these bitter race struggles will continue so long as the negro continues to be a brute. "The movement to reduce the negro to the condition of a mere plantation hand alongside the mule," is a mistake; we are trying to get a better class of labor to take his place on the plantation, not because he has risen above this position, but that he has become a worthless laborer, and we desire a higher class. If he will not work, we have no further use for him, for we wish no negro ornaments in the developing of the South.

This scheme of Dr. Gladden's may be brought about, but it is unreasonable to suppose that the whites of these Southern States will quietly give up their homes to

the negro race. Can it be expected that the interests of the majority should be made to yield to the servile minority of our population?

I think that the negro will continue to hold a home in the South by laboring for the Southern white man, but under no other circumstances will he remain here. If colonization for the black man comes, it will be deportation; he will never be colonized in America, for this country belongs to the progressive and aggressive Anglo-Saxon. Colonization of the negro anywhere would be a repetition of the conditions which prevailed in the British Colonies of the West Indies—he would soon relapse to barbarism, regardless of opportunities or advantages.

A missionary wrote in the year 1855 from the island of Jamaica: "From the number of churches and chapels in the island, Jamaica ought certainly to be called a Christian land. The people may be called a church-going people. There are chapels and places of worship enough, at least in this part of the island, to supply the people if every station of our mission were given up, and there is not lack of ministers and preachers. As far as I am

acquainted, almost the entire adult population profess to have a hope of eternal life, and I think the larger part are connected with churches. In view of such facts some have been led to say, 'The spiritual condition of the population is very satisfactory.' But there is another class of facts that is perfectly astounding. With all the array of the externals of religion, one broad, deep wave of moral death rolls over the land. A man may be a drunkard, a liar, a Sabbath-breaker, a profane man, a fornicator, an adulterer, and such like—and be known to be such—and go to the chapel, and hold up his head there, and feel no disgrace from these things, because they are so common as to create a public sentiment in his favor. He may go to the communion table, and cherish a hope of Heaven, and not have his hope disturbed. I might tell of persons guilty of some, if not all, of these things ministering in holy things."

The spiritual condition of the negro in the island of Jamaica in 1855 is reproduced in the Afro-American of to-day, in the very midst of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The negro has no standard of morals, therefore he suffers no disgrace.

If this is his condition, surrounded by the white man's civilization, what would it be when far removed from this civilization? Mr. Adams says: "So far as self-government is concerned, he who has faith in the African certainly has the courage of his convictions. Left to himself, the tendency of the negro, whether in Uganda or in San Domingo, is distinctly to deterioration—he will insensibly but assuredly relapse into his normal African condition." Knowing these facts, we can never conscientiously indorse colonization of the negro race.

CHAPTER XXVI

REPEAL OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

WILL this amendment, which was founded upon sand, give way before a higher civilization and a broader sweep of intelligence, or will it remain with the narrow politician of a dark age? Not that I think the Fifteenth Amendment will ever have any real effect upon the politics of the South, for the statute of limitation seems to have killed it; yet it serves to keep up a strife which may end in a bloody race war. I mean by the statute of limitation that it has taken the negro so long to acquire a little education to qualify him to vote, that his vote has passed from him, never to return. You can give the negro all the education that his clouded brain can stand, but his voice will never be heard in the legislative halls of the Southern States.

I believe the governing of this country belongs to the white man as a special privilege conferred upon him by a wise Providence, and that the Southern white man is

as much a party to this privilege as the Northern white man. Hence we take advantage of this right. We have confidence enough in the brains of the South to think that the people will continue to find a means for controlling the negro vote without coming in direct conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment. But the duty of the white man to the black man is to prevent bloodshed, if possible, for in every race riot it is chiefly negro blood that is shed, and the negro is the greater sufferer in the assertion of his supposed rights.

He is at present attending school with the idea that the Fifteenth Amendment will some day bring great things to him; herein lies the trouble. Not that I think the amendment will shortly be repealed, but that it will cause more trouble and bloodshed in the future than at any previous time in our history, and the time may come when there will be few negroes left to enjoy the great privileges conferred by it. May this never become a reality, however possible it may be. The Anglo-Saxon is the same the world over; his aim is to rule or annihilate, and it being conceded that the purest Anglo-Saxon blood in America flows in the veins of the

Southern people, it is unreasonable to suppose that they will consent to be ruled by the negro.

Judging from the past, we can see a real foundation for the prophecy of Senator Tillman concerning the race problem, but we live in the hope that his prophecy will never be fulfilled. The Fifteenth Amendment serves to keep the negro in politics and in the limelight of public life, in the South, while it keeps the North in the Republican column. It seems that the real result of this amendment in the South is antagonism and alienation of the two races, and an act productive of such results will never bring good to either race.

Our hope lies in the words of the Saviour of the world: "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand," and "A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory." The South may, some day, be given the victory over this amendment, because it was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity. This iniquitous measure is the basis on which rests the farce of political and social equality, the basis of race riots

and conflicts, the unrest and viciousness of the negro, and the final adjustment of the race question.

With this amendment repealed, the two races would live in peace and harmony; the two political parties would drop the negro, and cease to talk of negro "domination" and "white supremacy." If the negro should be dropped from politics, he would soon return to work for his living, because he would then understand that politics held no livelihood for him. Since emancipation he has been promised great things in politics, and while he never received his "forty acres and a mule," he has lived in the hope of receiving greater things. The Federal government very often gives him a little "Jim Crow" post-office in the South as a reward for his faithfulness to the cause.

Repeal the Fifteenth Amendment, and the school will lose its charm for the negro, as it is the incentive for every lesson learned in the schoolroom; it is the hope of his future and the guardian angel of his life; it is the basis on which his religion stands. We have this fact demonstrated by the negro preachers who condemned Mr. Roosevelt in the Brownsville affair;

the great multitude of colored ministers, North, South, East, and West, showed very plainly that the Fifteenth Amendment contained the greater part of their religion.

I suppose one reason why the North makes no effort to repeal the amendment is that they have no desire to rob the negro of his religion. Some of the wrathful colored ministry threatened to leave the Republican party and join the Democrats; this would not be a wise move, because I do not believe the Democrats would want them in a white man's party, and the Democratic party would have to change its doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." If every negro in America should turn Democratic, I would still believe in the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, because I think there is no place in the government of this country for the negro, whether a Democrat or a Republican. If the Republican party continues to cling to the negro and uphold corruption in politics, it must some day hand over the reins of government to the Democrats, and by this means will come the repeal of the negro amendment.

We have at present a great many

Northern Republicans who are coming South to live, and the great majority, after living here a while, vote the Democratic ticket—for they refuse to vote with the negro. The talk that the repeal of this amendment would place the negro back in slavery is all very foolish; he would still occupy his normal servile position in the South, and would fill his place in a more happy and contented way. The negroes, when made to understand that no great future awaits them, are very humble, harmless, and happy.

Take the negro out of politics and he will perform his duty as a factor in the Republic; leave him in politics and he will become a public burden of criminal and degenerate humanity, and must finally succumb to the inevitable. Repeal of the amendment would be a repeal of negro secret societies in which are planned murder and assaults of the whites; this is the route which the negro travels to his supposed rights. In these societies he learns of the political leaders that the negro's rights have depreciated in the South, and that he must rise and assert his power in defense of said rights.

He will never recognize his duty to

earn his livelihood until his political prospects are dead. The repeal of the amendment would have a decided tendency to disband the great army of negro idlers who flock to the city to attend school; it would forever set at rest the hallucination, "Seek ye first education, and all rights will be added unto you."

Governor Jelks of Alabama, in addressing a throng of negro farmers and business men, told the negroes that the races were living under conditions now that could not last. He said: "It would be much better to boast less of cutting down illiteracy, and more of cutting the number of those who violate the law. Less reading and more honesty would be a good slogan. Any country is better off with a maximum of illiterates and honest men than a maximum of literates and dishonest people." The Governor then urged that the negroes look well to their preachers. "See that they have clean hands and that they preach the lake of fire and brimstone to the thief." He pointed out that it is the thief and loafer that keep the people irritated and cause the feeling out of which grow such events as the Atlanta riot.

Governor Vardaman, in appealing to

the people of the North to join the South in an effort to change the Constitution of the United States, so that this race question can be properly treated by the law-making bodies of the different States, said: "If that is not done, if the Fifteenth Amendment shall not be repealed, the friction existing between the races now will increase as the years go by. As the disposition which the older negro inherited from his ancestors to submit to the white domination shall be eliminated by education, the negro will insist upon political equality; following that, of course, social equality. The white man will not consent to that, and if necessary to prevent it, the whole negro race will be exterminated in order to preserve the integrity of the white race.

"It is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon that he has refused to amalgamate with an inferior, and that fact accounts for the strength and virility of the race. To that fact we are indebted for the civilization of the twentieth century, for the literature of the English-speaking people, for the marvelous discoveries in science, and inventions in mechanics. It may be a cruel process,

but it is a fact, and I dare say there is no self-respecting white man with a spark of race pride in his make-up who would have it otherwise, even though it resulted in the extermination of every inferior race on the globe.

"You cannot solve this problem along humanitarian lines, but it must be upon rigid scientific principles. The sooner that fact is recognized the better for both races."

While Governor Vardaman has a solid foundation of facts on which to base his ideas regarding the intention of the new generation of the negro race, I refuse to believe that the race will be allowed to reach the point of extermination, or that the Southern white man will ever lose his ability to rule the negro, whether educated or not; of course we have every reason to believe that the task will, in the future, be more complicated and more difficult to handle, but I believe the South will be equal to the emergency, and when the smoke of battle has cleared away, the Southern white man will stand monarch of all he surveys.

If the Fifteenth Amendment is ever repealed, it must come about through the

affairs of the white men of the North and South. Those who are too broad-minded for sectional bias or narrow and corrupt politics to influence. It does not require a person of great mind to see that the effect of the amendment would be a broad stroke toward a solution of the problem: it would eliminate the negro from politics, and politics is the cause of all the race troubles in the South. The negro question was created by politicians, and the future will grow larger and larger with the negro & politician. We hope that he may some day be dropped without being eliminated at once.

The South did not derive its authority to govern the negro from the Federal government, but from the natural law enacted by the Great Jehovah, and this natural law, which no human laws or governmental changes can ever vitiate, will stand throughout time, even if the Fifteenth Amendment remains upon the statute book until the end of time. The history of the last forty years has demonstrated this fact, and it is deeply rooted in the nature of man and the exigencies of human society. Can a section of the Republic eradicate the apparently inevitable evils

of our nature by equalizing the condition of all mankind, consummating the perfections of the Southern whites, and thereby bringing the millennium? I think not! These evils will be eradicated and the millennium brought only at the second coming of the Master.

CHAPTER XXVII

IMMIGRATION A SOLUTION OF THE
PROBLEM

THE negro problem is as much talked of and written about now as in the years preceding the Civil War. No agitated question can remain unsettled, and the South is seeking a solution of this gigantic problem through immigration. Whether the movement be wise or not, we have been brought face to face with its necessity. Adverse circumstances have changed the condition of labor to such an extent that immigration has become a necessity, and this question bids fair to control the future of the negro.

John Sharp Williams says on this subject: "Negroes are going out and white men coming in, but we can, by wise individual and State action, accelerate it by bringing into the South desirable white immigrants, thus subjecting the darky to an industrial competition which will require him to become either a more

effectual laborer than he now is, especially upon the farm, or else to leave the field and go elsewhere to some sort of unskilled work requiring heavy muscular exertion under the supervising intelligence of the white man.

"Booker Washington said the test for his race would be whether it should remain or not remain the laboring element of the South. I say that this test has already been applied in the minds of all intelligent men; that the darky as a laborer, on farm and in factory, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. He realizes it himself, and is seeking the cities, where he fails to reproduce his race, from one generation to another. The net birth rate in the cities is not equal to the death rate among the negroes. God's laws of evolution, the survival of the fittest and the extinction of the unfit, are in operation. The birth rate of the negro is decreasing very materially, as every observant Southerner will tell you.

"I was told not long ago by a large planter in Sunflower County that upon plantations with the same number of women, where there used to be nineteen or twenty little pickaninnies running around,

there are now only eight or nine or ten. This has come about very largely from the fact that the negro women are very poor mothers, careless and unintelligent. Under the régime of slavery they had to be good mothers—they were, in the interests of their masters, forced to be—and those who acquired their habits then continued to be reasonably good mothers after emancipation. Nearly all the old slavery-reared mothers have died, however, and the new generation has been left to its natural instincts, without any control by the white race. The death rate of children under five years of age has increased fearfully among the negroes in contrast with what it was in slavery times. The general death rate among them in the cities is about double that of the white race. Whisky, cocaine, and venereal diseases are doing their deadly work.

“Consumption was so rare among the slaves before the war that negroes in most parts of the South were considered immune. Their strength and lives are being ravaged by it now. Whether we want to or not, we must of necessity seek some class of laborers to do the work in the South that the negro has hitherto per-

formed. The net increase of the negro from generation to generation can no longer keep up with the demands of the world for cotton and other products of the South, from farm, mine, and factory. On the other hand, the natural increase of the white race of the South, especially in the uplands of the Cotton States, is larger than that of any other population in the world. Thus we see the working out of the natural law of the 'survival of the fittest.'

"The process, however, is too slow. We must help it on, and the right way to do this is to use strenuous efforts in all the Southern States to bring in as 'workers in the Lord's vineyard' men of the pure white race, desirable types of the race, and men of desirable individual character. My ideas may be plebeian, but they are practical. Some of the remedies I suggest for public evils may seem to others insignificant. Whether so or not, however, I hazard the opinion that if in a few cities thirty or forty families were to unite and bring in white women and girls for cooks and house servants, the effect upon the darkies would be almost immediate and would be more far-reaching than at first

would be thought possible. It would go far toward doing away with a great many of the negro vagrants upon the streets, who live upon the earnings of the negro washerwomen, cooks, and house girls, while they smoke cigarettes and try to straighten out the kinks in their hair."

These are wise suggestions of Mr. Williams and should be brought to account. While I believe this immigration movement to be one of the greatest and strongest features in the solution of the negro problem, I think we should move slowly in this direction, pursue this course only after deep thought and cautiously, imploring the leadership of the Ruler of the Universe, for with God's leadership we cannot fail. Immigration, assisted by the school and the high death rate, may be the means by which the end will be reached.

There is no doubt that the school is the cause for the migration of the negro to the cities. After attending school a little while, he becomes an idler and a slum-dweller, thereby causing the high death rate and a full criminal calendar. According to the records of history, the negro as a free man has always arrived at the same condition—a race of idlers, living

in the midst of filth, by stealing or other nefarious means. The laws of nature are now sternly working in the South, and it seems that these laws are bringing the negro to the same condition which as a free man he has occupied through all ages. If he will not work from rational motives, he must give way to the laws of political economy and the necessities of the world.

Governor Hayward, of South Carolina, at the Immigration Conference in Nashville, said that immigration would yet solve the negro problem. There has been too much theorizing; it is time for action. He said: "Any solution of our race problem in the South lies as much with the negro as with the white man, but one of the greatest barriers to any advancement of the negro is his natural indolence. This explains his failure to use his opportunities, and in this he alone is responsible for the disastrous results which follow. An innate sense of irresponsibility lies at the bottom of the negro's lack of respect for the law, this lack of respect being in contradistinction to a certain fear of the law's penalties which he may sometimes feel.

"If there were neither murder, arson,

nor criminal assaults, it can be safely said there would be no lynchings. These crimes do not receive anything like their just measure of condemnation from the negro race. The white man must help the negro, but it is absolutely necessary that the negro help himself. The white race is the predominant race, and the negro must understand once and for all that the bounds of social and political questions will be determined by the white man alone, and by the white man's code. The black man has a right to expect that his civil status should be the same in every respect as that of the white man.

"A proper understanding of these fundamental principles by the negro—and there is no reason why he should not understand—would be a long step in the right direction. If he refuses to adjust himself to these inflexible conditions, then the negro will have to go. The first step we should take is a strict enforcement of our vagrancy laws. It is the duty of the white man to uphold his own laws; when a mob for any reason whatever takes the law into its own hands, a blow is struck at the very root of our own civilization. The mob spirit is ruled entirely by a desire for

revenge and a total disregard for all the forms of established law. This being true, the very basis of all law is endangered."

At the same Immigration Conference the question was discussed by Col. Robert Gates, Special Industrial and Immigration Agent of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad for Tennessee. He said in part: "White immigrants in reasonable numbers, together with race loyalty, will measurably remove from the South or minimize the perils that threaten. The South needs more labor, but it should have desirable labor or none. Mistakes on this line would be fatal. It wants immigrants, but it wants the best or none. The emergency is great, it is true, for field, shop, and mine are crying for labor to develop wealth that only waits an effort. And yet we must be cautious even if we have to move slowly. We should remember that of the shadows on our land to-day, the chief peril is the result of a policy our ancestors pursued to meet labor emergencies then existing—African slavery.

"The lesson of this lawful blunder must not be lost on this or succeeding generations. To profit by the experience of others, by the lessons of the past, is the high-

est wisdom, and in doing this we do not reflect on our ancestors in any proper sense, but simply profit by their mistakes, as our posterity, let us hope, will profit by ours. I repeat, we want immigrants for two reasons: first, to meet the labor necessity, and second, in order to insure the best solution of the race problem on the lines of least friction and peril. But we want white immigrants only, and a class or race of whites that will not equalize or fuse with the negroes and thus increase the peril of mongrelism. In my judgment, the most desirable immigrants are to be had in the North and Northwest. Experience is demonstrating this to be true. These people come to us Americanized, and readily assimilate with our native population, benefiting and being benefited.

“Not that I oppose foreign immigration. That is more or less desirable, and for the most part they make good citizens, provided they are pure white. But it would be as wise to undertake to assimilate fire and water as to Americanize any of the dark races. And I would draw the line on both yellow and mongrel types, for they are built on different lines, as their

civilization, or lack of it, demonstrates; besides, we have a sufficiently serious race problem on hand without complicating it with other alien races. White people—small farmers, day laborers, domestic servants, skilled mechanics—we need, and they are available in the North and in Europe. . . . Immigrants properly selected, directed, and placed in numbers sufficient for social life among themselves, but not large enough to preserve objectionable foreign habits and ideas, will in season be assimilated and merged into the body of citizenry. And more: they will help to maintain the white man's rule, which is essential to prosperity.

“They will contribute to the solution of the race problem on the more peaceful lines of adjustment and survival. More white people in the South means less friction. The negro, not being too independent, will become more industrious and reliable. Let me say here that I would not wrong the negro—but would save him from himself. For the old-time negro and his kind I have respect, sympathy, and tenderness. For the modern product, perverted and insolent, with honorable exceptions, I have only pity or contempt.”

Generally speaking, Colonel Gates echoes the sentiment of the South in regard to the modern negro. This is one of the dangerous features of the problem. The immigration bill recently passed by Congress has the appearance of a direct blow at the Southern immigration movement. Cut off foreign white immigration from the South, and you cut off the hope of a peaceful solution of the negro problem.

Immigration is no doubt the main hope for a peaceful adjustment of conditions, for if we cannot get the necessary labor through immigration, more strenuous methods will be adopted to make the negro work: he will be forced to work or move out. We entertain the hope that this immigration movement will not be crippled permanently; if so, more complicated conditions stare us in the face. Time has proved the negro to be an unalterable type of the human race, who must be controlled and elevated by the law of force; if not, he comes to naught. Time has also proved his inalienable condition to be that of servitude. In all countries, where the free and naturally idle negro is found, the lessons of history and the in-

fallible records of experience record him as a social and moral curse.

The South bears record of this condition to-day. Immigration seems to be the only remedy in sight; if foiled in this movement, we must wait for future developments, which may bring a better and wiser plan of relief. While immigration seems to be the right way out of present difficulties, it may be all wrong. One thing is certain, however: cotton must be produced, and the future will bring the producer, whether he be white or black.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SOME DAY, SOME TIME

FOR the future we can only surmise and wait "till the mists have cleared away," but from the present and past condition of the negro some deductions seem certain. The North does not want the negro, because he forms a useless part of her population. At the discovery of this fact they sold their slaves to the Southern planters—thereby relieving themselves of the white man's burden of the future; but in casting this burden upon the people of the South they did not relieve themselves of the responsibilities of the present and future.

When the negro was brought to this country in slavery, the North and South were equal partners in the business, the firm bearing the name of "White American Brothers," but the South made the profit, and bought the North out, and then the North discovered that she had been a partner in a shady business concern, of which she must relieve her Southern

brother, if possible. But it seems that the North failed to discover the right plan of relief, and only made matters worse for the Southern people, the people of their own race and blood. We have long since forgiven our erring Northern brother without the asking, and have learned that it is very natural for some families to become estranged over property, as it is also natural for a few members of the same family to desire the whole estate. The title to this property was settled at Appomattox, but the family estrangement has continued, to a certain extent, through the years that followed.

I think the main cause for the long survival of this estrangement has been that the South had the idea that the North loved the negro the best, and she never liked partiality—therefore we have never really become a reunited family. Some day there will be a family reunion, with a start in business again, and then the negro problem will be settled, by the partnership of the North and South. This partnership will contain no dollars and cents, no envy or malice, and no sectional hate, but will represent a reunited brotherhood of white Americans, who will set-

tle the negro question for the welfare of the nation.

We have every reason to believe this time is not far away. When the two sections reach that day, and that point of view, the North will say to the South: "You can have control of the Southern negro population of the Republic, for they are better suited to the climate of the South, and the rule of the Southern white man. We have at last learned that the negro must be controlled by somebody, and you are welcome to the job, as he belongs in your line of business, that of agriculture in the Southland." Paul says: "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit."

This Spirit that Paul tells us about must be the controlling feature in the final solution of this perplexing problem. Locke says: "What was thought obscure, perplexed, and too hard for our weak parts,

will lie open to the understanding in a fair view." All that we require of our Northern brethren is to take a fair view of conditions in the South; with this the North will come to know the negro as he is known here, and the two sections will reach an understanding of the homogeneous principles of the Anglo-Saxon, North and South.

Charles Francis Adams says: "The fundamental and everlasting principles enunciated in the Declaration may suffer, and even have to be subjected to revision, and limitation, but none the less facts are facts, and for his own good, and ultimate possible development, the African has got to be 'restrained.' But how? In this respect the Soudan is to-day a most suggestive field for study. Until subject to British domination, the Soudan, and Uganda also, were internal hells and external nuisances. And as they then were time out of mind they have been. One has but to read Baker's account of the conditions which prevailed in that region anterior to 1890 to appreciate the utter fallacy of the theoretical rights-of-man and philanthropical African-and-brother doctrines. In plain vernacular English they

are all 'rot,' rot which I myself have indulged in to a certain extent and in face of observable facts which would not down, have had to outgrow. On the other hand, the domination of the inferior and stationary race by the superior for the mere material and selfish benefit of the latter—as illustrated in the whole former experience of mankind, Greek, Roman, Russian, British, and American—is not a change for the better.

"It is one long, loud lamentation, and an ancient tale of wrong. British rule in Egypt marks, at least, not improbably the beginning of a new era: but of possibly incalculable importance to the world, it is not likely at once to displace and replace the traditional abominations. Frankly accepted to its full extent, and subject to its necessary limitations, it might, the observer is now inclined to think, offer a solution of our much-talked-of American inferior race, dependency, and modernized Monroe-doctrine problems."

We cannot say whether the Monroe doctrine, or the doctrine of the Bible, that God created the posterity of Ham servants of his other brethren, will be accepted in the solution of the race problem.

When the Northern people investigate and understand the negro problem as it affects the nation, then will they come to regard the negro as he really is, and the North and South will stand together on this question. In the march of time the North will discover her mistakes regarding these people, just as Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, discovered his mistakes on the question.

I thank God for Mr. Adams. The talk about the South solving this problem alone is foolish—she cannot, because its scope is national, but so long as the Federal government makes use of the negro to hamper the South, just so long will the negro problem remain unsettled. So long as the nation equalizes Afro-American and white citizenship, so long will the question remain tangled. The negro problem must be solved upon a national basis, and not by political bias or division. Some contend that the negro problem must be solved by the white man and black man, but I think not, because the negro has erroneous ideas regarding the future of the race—he thinks his race important, great, and superior to the white race, with a great future—therefore it is useless to

think of consulting such a race, because they are not capable of understanding or seeing what is best for them. They have never been consulted on the question, and never will be.

The solution of the problem will be forced upon the negro, and he will become satisfied. The final solution must come as a national question settled according to ethnological laws. The laws of God and of nations do not apply to all nations alike, but vary with the conditions and character of the people, and the law that is just and right with regard to the negro is eminently unjust toward the Anglo-Saxon. The human races are not alike, therefore one code of international law does not apply to the whole, and the inferior races must be treated according to the laws of God and man. When the said laws find national recognition, the two races will live together in peace and harmony in the South. The negro's future does not rest with him, but depends upon the enforcement of the laws applicable to the races. He must be forced to pay his debt to civilization and progress; if not, he must pass out by the same route as that traveled by the American Indian.

The negro being a descendant of Ham, can be made subservient to human use, for his manifest destiny is that of a servant, and the ordinance of God requires that he should be placed in a subordinate position to a superior race. This being the case, the negro will not pass as the Indian did. According to Holy Writ, the Indian and negro have very different destinies; it is claimed that the Indian is a descendant of Esau, and his manifest destiny seems to prove his descent beyond a doubt. If it is true that the Indian is a descendant of Esau, then the two races were created to travel life's journey in different directions, under different administrations, with entirely different racial endowments. Therefore the Indian and negro were destined to exist under a different ordinance of God. The negro will remain in this country, and be made to perform his duty to civilization and the human race, while the Indian will some day belong entirely to history.

One very bright hope of the future is contained in the fact that the evidence in the case of the negro is developing very fast. It seems that the divine hand is holding out public manifestations of the

negro race. Jesus said: "There is nothing hid which shall not be manifested." The negro has been hid to the people of the North through the years that have passed; but I believe that the hiding time is past, for we have in public view some large-brained Northern men whose vision has been cleared in regard to the negro. Upon this fact lies our hope of the future, because the South can never do anything with the negro so long as the North meddles with him, causing him to believe that he will some day be a great man. Living in this hope, he is dissatisfied and vicious.

He thinks the Federal government will stand by him in his meanness and crime, and he has very good reason for thinking so. So long as he is allowed to live under this impression, just so long will his life be base and his future dark in the South.

We can never really lay claim to being one of the greatest governments on earth while the negro holds position in the different departments of the government. This is a disgrace to white intelligence and the claim of an honest government.

The United States government was founded upon intelligence, virtue, and natural distinction, and it must stand upon

these principles or it will suffer the disgrace which comes from government positions being filled by negroes. Negro character is something that will not down; you can hide it from view for a while, but it will appear in its true colors sooner or later. He has no more right to fill a position in the departments of the government than he has the right to be President of the United States. No man, or class of men, can have a natural right to exercise a power which if intrusted to them is willed for harm and not for good. This great fundamental truth has been thoroughly tested in regard to the negro.

He belongs to a race without promise, so far as worldly prestige, achievements and power are concerned. Time has proved the authenticity of the Bible in regard to these people, and why should we longer try to lift him up above his calling? Since the beginning of time God has enlarged Japheth; he dwells in the tents of Shem, and the negro is his servant. Place him in a high position, and he will one day find his level. At no time, in no place or country, has the negro accomplished anything without the aid and rule of the white man.

Dishonesty dominates their nature; the educated not differing from his uneducated brother, and being of inferior character and looser moral principle, they readily form the material for demagogues to work upon. So long as the negro remains in politics and forms the material for the political demagogue to work with, just so long will he be a menace to civilization. The negro race being naturally inferior in mind and character, does not imply that they are less entitled to the rights of humanity. While the rights of the two races are equally human, they are appointed to different positions in life.

In the years to come the North will recognize the inferior mind and character of the negro, and will right the political and social wrong done the South. This may seem unreasonable, but it is inevitable; it is foretold by existing conditions. A change must come; if not in a peaceful manner, it will come through a race war. Insult can be added to injury. Until forbearance will cease to be a virtue—this is the danger line, and if the South is insulted and nagged until she approaches this line, it will then be too late to make

amends, or for reason to intervene. We have several reasons on which to base the liability of such an approaching danger. One is the growing race hatred between the young generations of the whites and blacks; another is the increased efforts of the negro race to follow the instructions of their leaders, who tell them to arm themselves and assert their rights. If no remedy is sought and found for this condition, race riots will increase and become general, and thereby bring matters to a final understanding, which may be a surprise to the negroes' supposed friends.

While we have very strong evidence that the problem may be settled by a race war, I cannot think that this will be the method of settlement, but rather I think race conflicts will continue, and, assisted by the schools, and by high death rate among the negroes, bring a solution of the question.

Judging from the attitude of the two races toward each other, we have no reason to think that the struggle between them will be discontinued until the end is reached. More evidence pointing toward this end is that the negro leaders are so

absorbed in the future greatness of the race that they cannot read the handwriting on the wall—they are drunk with their own importance; sustained by duplicity and lying; blind to reason, with no moral sense on which to stand.

This is my reason for doubting that the negro race will be consulted about what position they are to occupy in the South, or whether they are to stay here or not. If we don't want them to stay here, they will not stay. Booker Washington says: "We of both races are to live here in the South, side by side, for all time, no matter what theories may be advanced and emphasized. This to any sensible man, it seems to me, is the fact which we must face." Booker may be right, and he may be wrong; no man can say as to the certainty of the negro remaining in the South. We have some sensible men who say he will remain here, while others equally as sensible say that he will not stay in the South. Time only will show. I think the negro will remain in the South, but a very decided change will be seen in his aspirations.

The race will greatly diminish in numbers, and will be made to understand that

they have only a negro's place in America, which they must fill. When brought to this understanding they will go to work, and will occupy their normal place in civilization; their existence will be peaceful and happy, while the passing years will see the gradual decrease of the race. How will this be brought about? Through the mutual understanding of the negro race by the North and the South they will be eliminated from politics, and become less and less a factor in the national life. But there is a great deal to happen before the two sections can reach this understanding. It may be arrived at through bloodshed, or it may come through minds made broad by investigation. The moral philosophy of the issue recognizes facts on both sides of the question it proposes to decide. The question, being national, must be settled by the counsels of wise, cautious, and far-seeing statesmen, who can comprehend, in their plans for final adjustment, all the diversified and highly-complicated interests of society. It will, of course, take time to develop such progress as will call together a council of the wise men of the North and South to settle the negro problem, but it will come sooner or later, and

the question will be settled philosophically, for the good of both races.

Mr. Adams says: "It is not easy for one at all observant to come back from Egypt and the Soudan without a strong suspicion that we will, in America, make small progress toward a solution of our race problem until we approach it in less of a theoretic and humanitarian, and more of a scientific spirit." I agreed with Mr. Adams, that the solution of the race problem must be reached through a scientific spirit; yet these people are God's creatures, and the solution must rest upon—"the science of things divine and human, and the causes in which they are contained." God created the negro to be subservient to human use, just as He created the beast of burden, but he was created a human being with a soul as valuable as that of the white man. While he was made and destined a servant of men, he must be treated as a human being in the solution of the race problem.

In the solution of the problem, racial peculiarities and limitations will be recognized for the first time, and the negro will be placed in his proper sphere in life; he will be as free as he has ever been, but

will follow the vocations to which he is suited. During the forty years of his freedom he has been "idle, sensual, and benighted"; therefore he has never been really free. The talk of the South wanting to place the negro back in slavery is all nonsense.

It is true, we are in great need of labor, but we want a better class of people—a people who will do more work with less expense—a people who desire to live and let live. The salt of the negro race has almost lost its savour in the South. The Master said: "Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt has lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men." No! the Southern people want no more slavery, but they want the negro placed where he belongs, in order that he may pay his debt to civilization.

Reader, we have only to wait on the counsel of the wise for a final adjustment of the race question, and I believe them to be mustering their forces for the occasion. The Master said: "Wisdom is justified of all her children"; therefore a council of the wise men of the nation will

render a verdict of wisdom and justice to the people of the Republic. It was the wise men of the East who were warned and directed of God to go and find the young child Jesus, and it was these wise men who mocked King Herod.

My reason for thinking this to be the final solution is based on the fact that "that which is everybody's business, is nobody's business," and unless the agitation of the multitude become wise, no solution will be found. The problem must first become generally understood, then solved by the wisdom of Northern and Southern statesmen. Some time, some where, we will reach this understanding.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO

PERHAPS nowhere in the pages of history can be found an example of greater forbearance and fortitude than that manifested by the people of the South toward the degenerate and dependent negro race, but will the future equal this? According to the present indications, I think not. It may be that the cherished sentiment of a dead past will at last find sepulcher in the cold, calculating logic of gain, and if sentiment is so buried, the God of Mammon will rule.

It is a sad fact, but nevertheless the truth, that the God of Mammon is gradually gaining a foothold in the South; the sentiment born of the old South is fast passing away. It is but natural for the sentiment toward the negro to pass with the ante-bellum darky, for the new generation has, by its viciousness, destroyed the kindly spirit of the Old South toward the race. The Confederate soldier will

soon cease to walk in the hall of memory; he and his "niggers" must soon form only silent pictures on the wall of this hall. Will the sons of these old soldiers walk as their fathers did, amid these tender memories, or will they shut the door, and leave the future to the cold, scientific consideration of logic?

The traditions of father will be transmitted to son, but the memory of "black mammy" and other faithful slaves will sleep with the father in the dust of the dead. There will be none of the ennobling sentiments of the old South in dealing with the future of the negro. It has passed, and will live only in song and story.

The solution of the negro problem presents several strong features which must find consideration. The power of the risen South must find political recognition, and the voice of her people must be heard and understood in the halls of Congress. The South must be recognized as the southern part of this great Republic, and not as a charitable institution in which the Afro-American finds a free home at the expense of the whites—who must give these distinguished citizens the freedom of the

country, where they must not be punished for crime, nor disturbed in the enjoyment of their rights and liberty by the supporters of the said institution. Will the future find the Southern people as content to stay in the background and support a worthless race of people, as they have been in the past? I think not. As the South grows in strength, she will declare her position with such power and force that the North will hear and understand.

The truthfulness of the negro problem, and the seriousness of existing conditions here, must be impressed upon the Northern mind; sectional hate must be done away with, and the South become a real part of the nation. The North will readily see the situation when the facts in the case are backed up by power. In the meantime the South must turn her attention to the supply of labor—fill the vacancies made by the schools with a good class of white labor, and thereby fortify against the future.

Our trouble in the past has been our nearsightedness, and this may be our trouble in the future; we have a great many Southern people who say: "Edu-

cate the negro and he will be all right"—they fail to see the unalterable facts in the case. The great majority who entertain this idea are the Christians who never come in contact with the real conditions, or the real negro. The facts which will stand foremost in the solution of the problem are racial peculiarities and limitations—the negro's capacity to live and let live, and his real position in this life—with no comparison between the negro and white man.

After years and years of unfounded comparison it will at last be discovered that the two races bear no resemblance, and will not admit of comparison. The knowledge which the years have brought will stand paramount in the issue, and the question will be settled accordingly. But the hand of God must reveal a great deal before the majority will be prepared to accept this knowledge with any degree of certainty.

If the eyes of the North are not opened to the seriousness of the question, and to the honesty and earnestness of the Southern people, then the more cruel process of which Senator Tillman speaks will be adopted, with the inevitable result. If

this comes it will be forced upon the people. When the South is received as a part of this nation, and the voice of her white citizenship is heard, we will cease to have a mulatto negro as dictator of the government appointments in the South—the cloven foot of the negro will disappear, leaving no foot-prints on the sands of time. Such changes come with progress and prosperity.

The bright side in the future of the negro race depends upon the timely consideration of the facts involved. If conditions are allowed to remain as at present, the shadows will overcome the light and the future will be dark indeed. This is certain concerning the future of the negro in the South: the whites will continue to own the land, and rule the negro, whether the North ever discovers that he is not a white man with a black skin or not. Governor Vardaman, speaking of the negro's future, says: "The elimination of the negro from politics and the absolute separation from the white race socially, will have a potential moral influence upon the negro, which will result in curbing his growing disposition to assault white women and to commit other kindred

crimes. That nefarious crime is but the cruel and barbarous manifestation of the negro's aspirations for social equality. When he was a slave and under the control of the white man, the committing of the crime of rape never entered his brutal brain, but it remained for his more enlightened progeny, after forty years of education and freedom, to horrify the world by his flagitious crimes. . . .

"The negro is of a plastic nature, and if properly controlled by the white man he becomes a very docile and obedient creature. When properly trained he becomes as obedient and docile as the most intelligent dog, but when left to himself he will grow to be as vicious as his forefather, the cannibal of the jungle. He cannot stand the freedom and privileges of the white man's civilization. This is demonstrated in Cuba to-day, as the insurrection in progress on that island is headed and supported by negroes and mongrels—probably encouraged by American interests for selfish purposes. These things are horrible in their effect, and discouraging to the present generation, but I believe they will lead ultimately to the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment

and the placing of the negro in his proper place before the law. It is the cruel and bloody process through which natural law works for the correction of the 'fool mistakes of man.'"

He who doubts the truthfulness of Governor Vardaman's statement has but to come South and see. The natural law of which he speaks is making wonderful progress toward a solution of the problem. This law is recorded in the statute book of nature—therefore the North cannot repeal it; neither can they stop its work. This natural law forms the only visible means for the final adjustment of the race question.

Rev. W. T. Bolling, of the M. E. Church South, in discussing the negro's future, said in part: "We certainly wish the negro well, so long as he moves within the natural limitations of his race, for in the South there is a community of interest which, if conserved, may bring prosperity to both races, but if the negro comes into unwise conflict with the white race, the weaker must go down before the stronger, and all theories born of mere sentiment will vanish, if the racial elements are called out to battle for mastery,

with the white race, well; while if not, a well-grounded hope of success in this country cannot be found by it."

From an address delivered by Bishop John M. Walden before the Cincinnati Methodist Episcopal Ministers' Association on the race problem, we take the following: "This country will not fulfill its objects until the nation comes to consider its relation with the negro as that of a guardian to a ward. This problem is not a problem of the North alone, nor of the South alone; it is a problem for the nation. This nation, which is so rich and powerful, must solve the race question itself. During the days before the war the idea that the negro was to have, when freed, his forty acres of land from the government, was freely circulated. But when the freedom came no forty acres came with it. There are three things that enter into the negro question: the thought of implanting in the negro the idea of industry, the idea of honesty, the idea of home-making.

"The negro has been charged with laziness. The Northern traveler who goes South and comes home is filled with stories of the lazy negroes he saw about

the streets of Southern cities. I tell you he saw but few. The negro will make a good citizen, if we only give him a chance, but the problem is with us individually, with the Methodist Episcopal Church collectively, and with the great United States in a national sense. The South for forty years has endeavored to implant in the free negro the idea of industry and honesty, and has failed. He has had forty years' chance to make a good citizen, and is further from citizenship to-day than he was forty years ago.

The good bishop has only to visit one or two Southern cities to have the statement of the Northern traveler verified in regard to the way negroes to be seen about the streets of Southern cities. If the government should ever decide to become a guardian of these people, it would be a good idea for the government officials, from the President down, to locate in the different Southern cities for at least six months so as to look the negro situation square in the face. Then, and not until then, will business come to "land on its feet in the race." While I do not believe the government will ever assume the guardianship or responsibility of the

negro race, I do believe it will have the greater part in the settlement of the race problem. A great many Southern people think that we will find in the negro ministers and teachers enough "leaven to leaven the whole lump," which will bring the right adjustment of the question. I doubt this very much, because the majority of these ministers and teachers have two influences at work; they have one influence for the white public and one for private use with the race.

The Brownsville affair brought out the Christian character of the majority of the Afro-American ministers. Mr. Carmach said: "No more damaging indictment of a race could be secured than the one written by itself in the Brownsville affair." We have a few negro ministers who are real Christians, and are doing everything in their power for the betterment of the race. The solution of the problem will be based upon wisdom and understanding, and the negro will not be consulted until we discover a process for injecting wisdom into his brain. The future of any people depends upon their ability to meet their obligations to civilization. No race, white or black, can rise above its morals. Since

time has been, degeneracy has traveled the same path—that of ruin, decay, and death.

Every country in which the negro has been placed, and later made a free man, records the same story of degeneracy. In all countries where political equality has been extended to the negro race it has resulted in failure, degradation, and bloodshed. At every opportunity the cloven foot of the negro appears and evinces what he would do if he could. When we attain the high degree of intellectual power by which we can undo the work of God, then, and not until then, will we be able to make a real citizen of the negro. This talk of equality and the inalienable rights-of-man really amounts to nothing, so far as the negro problem is concerned.

Afro-American citizenship is the means by which we show enmity, dislike, and malice for each other—it is the means by which we seek revenge for differences in opinion, and it serves as a basis on which the two political parties vent the spleen of their differences. Negro citizenship keeps the South in thralldom to the one-party system, and divides the country by keeping alive sectional hate. Our country will

never be really reunited until the negro is eliminated from politics.

The race question is gradually pushing its way into the different departments of the government—a very good sign of an approaching solution of the problem. In the forty years of freedom we have never given the negro a “square deal,” because we have imposed upon him the white man’s standard of ethics—political and social; in so doing we have committed a grave error, and done the negro a great injustice. He has been misled, misguided, and misplaced in civilization. The fruits of hypocrisy and political “bunkum” face us to-day as never before.

The time has arrived for the whites of the nation to let the negro know where he stands, and where he must stand for all time to come. The political joke of “equality” has reached its limit, and the time has come for dealing justly and honestly with the negro race. If we lead him further on the road to destruction we must give an account to God, who intrusted these people to our care, honesty, and guidance through time.

The right, as I understand it, would be to retire the negro to his proper and des-

tinued place in civilization, which is the humble walks of life, with the just and necessary restraints placed upon him. Time has told us that he must be restrained. Continue to spend money for his education; but it must be an industrial and religious training, with the rudiments of an education. Employ as teachers the talented few of the race who live moral, upright lives. The negro would dislike this plan at first, but would soon become tractable, contented, and happy. He would then understand what is expected of him, and what he is to expect. In an effort to cast aside the law of subordination of the inferior race to the superior, the negro was sent on life's journey without aim or intention—he has wandered from place to place, and instead of making social and moral advancement, he has gone backward.

All things considered, we cannot blame the negro. When we train him to be a servant worthy of his hire, and give him a fixed purpose in life, then will we fulfill our duty to the weaker race. In the solution of the problem the negro has rights that must be respected—the rights of a human being in the humble walks of life,

who must depend upon his superiors for honest and just dealings with him.

When the nation removes the negro from politics, and places him in his proper place, that of a subordinate to the white man, it will have performed its main duty to the negro and to the Southern whites, who are conceded to be the negro's best friend. In the peaceful adjustment of the race question the gall of by-gone years will pass away, and its bitterness be forgotten. But if this question is allowed to stand as at present, the final settlement will come through the same process by which all great questions of the past have been settled—the cruel process of war; a race war, of which Senator Tillman talks—the battle of civilization against degeneracy, whether consistent with Christianity, with even the most elemental sense of justice and right, will be a forced condition. We hope for better things, but it is reasonable to suppose a race war will be the probable solution of the negro problem; because it is the strongest evidence that has yet appeared on the surface of the question.

May the God of all the people lift His hand and stay this catastrophe until He

can make wisdom, honesty, and justice the ruling forces of the nation; then guide us to the rock that is higher than human selfishness, envy, and malice, where we may stand amid the joyful surroundings of a better day. After the night of sectional hate and strife has passed, the day will dawn upon the glory of a reunited white man's country, with two political parties of the Anglo-Saxon race. So may it be.

THE END





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